

that the U.N. can become an effective instrument for the maintenance of world peace and the rule of law in international affairs. But, he left no doubt that if that potential is to be fulfilled the support of every member of the world body for the sound principles on which the U.N. is based is essential. In the absence of the rule of law and a collective willingness to adhere to the responsibilities set forth in the Charter of the United Nations a return to chaos is certain and imminent.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Ambassador Goldberg's speech at the U.N. be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG, U.S. REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UNITED NATIONS, IN THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS, MONDAY, AUGUST 16, 1965

Mr. Chairman, I have had the pleasure of meeting informally with some of the heads of delegations to the United Nations during the past few weeks. This, however, is my first formal appearance before an official organ of the General Assembly. I, therefore, asked to be inscribed to speak first so I might begin, with your indulgence, by assuring all members represented on this committee of the great sense of responsibility I feel in assuming my new duties as Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations.

President Johnson, in announcing my appointment, said of my assignment: "In his new office he will speak not only for an administration but he will speak for an entire Nation, firmly, earnestly, and responsibly committed to the strength and to the success of the United Nations in its works for peace around the world."

My own thoughts, in accepting this assignment, are dominated by a strong conviction that the world is so full of danger and tribulation that every available part of the U.N.'s peacekeeping machinery must be in working order so that the United Nations as a whole can perform its appointed role of peacemaker and peacekeeper.

And I cannot enter upon my official duties without paying my respects to my great and gifted and eloquent predecessor, the late Adlai E. Stevenson. He will be sorely missed. He and I were personal friends of long standing; and I knew him well enough to be sure that if he could be here today his message to us would be simple and forthright: get on with your work of making peace.

I therefore turn, Mr. Chairman, to the business at hand.

I do not intend to review here in detail the position which the United States has taken with respect to articles 17 and 19 of the charter. As the members of this Committee are well aware, we believe in the soundness of the following straightforward principles:

First, that the concept of collective financial responsibility adopted by the United Nations in 1945 is a sound principle—and a landmark in the practice of international organizations.

Second, that article 17 of the Charter of the United Nations is impeccably clear on the right of the General Assembly to assess and apportion among its members the "expenses of the Organization."

Third, that the costs of peacekeeping operations, once assessed and apportioned by the General Assembly, are expenses of the Organization within the meaning of article 17—a proposition confirmed by the International

Court of Justice and accepted by the General Assembly by an overwhelming vote.

Fourth, that article 19 is clear beyond question about the sanction to be applied in the case of 2-year delinquents.

Our views on these matters have not represented a bargaining position nor have they changed. They have not been based on narrow national interest but on the clear language of the charter and what seemed to us the clear interests of the Organization.

This is not and never has been an issue in any so-called cold war; under the law of the charter the questions would be identical regardless of which member or members happened to be in arrears—or for what assessed United Nations activity they failed to pay—or why they refused to pay for it.

Nonetheless, the issue has been interpreted widely as a "confrontation"—not between the delinquent members and the law of the United Nations—but between major powers. We do not so regard it.

We, for our part, cannot abandon our adherence to positions which we firmly believe to be constitutionally, legally, procedurally, and administratively correct.

Much less can we abandon positions taken and precedents established by the Assembly itself by overwhelming majorities, acting within the framework of the charter and according to its own established procedures. I refer specifically to the formal actions of the General Assembly since 1956 levying assessments to finance the United Nations Emergency Force; to the similar assessment resolutions since 1960 for the United Nations operation in the Congo; to the decision in 1961 to submit to the International Court of Justice the question of whether these assessments are "expenses of the Organization"; within the meaning of article 17; to the Assembly's authorization in 1961 of the United Nations bond issue; to the Assembly's acceptance in 1962 of the advisory opinion of the Court on the question submitted to it; to the reaffirmation by the Assembly's fourth special session in 1963 of the collective financial responsibility of all United Nations members; and to the appeal by the same body to delinquent members to pay their arrears.

All this has been done by the Assembly and cannot be undone by a few of its members. The law and the history of the matter cannot be revised.

The United States regretfully concludes, on ample evidence, that at this stage in the history of the United Nations, the General Assembly is not prepared to carry out the relevant provisions of the charter in the context of the present situation. From private consultations, from statements by the principal officers of the Organization, from the statements and exhaustive negotiations within and outside this committee, from an informal polling of the delegations—indeed from the entire history of this affair—the inevitable conclusion is that the Assembly is not disposed to apply the loss-of-vote sanction of article 19 to the present situation.

We regret that the intransigence of a few of the member states, and their unwillingness to abide by the rule of law, has led the Organization into this state of affairs.

The United States adheres to the position that article 19 is applicable in the present circumstances. It is clear, however, that we are faced with a simple and inescapable fact of life which I have cited. Moreover, every parliamentary body must decide, in one way or another, the issues that come before it; otherwise it will have no useful existence, and soon no life.

Therefore, without prejudice to the position that article 19 is applicable, the United States recognizes, as it must, that the General Assembly is not prepared to apply article 19 in the present situation and that the consensus of the membership is that the Assembly should proceed normally. We will not seek to frustrate that consensus, since

it is not in the world interest to have the work of the General Assembly immobilized in these troubled days. At the same time, we must make clear that if any member can insist on making an exception to the principle of collective financial responsibility with respect to certain activities of the Organization, the United States reserves the same option to make exceptions if, in our view, strong and compelling reasons exist for doing so. There can be no double standard among the members of the Organization.

Some members may believe that in not applying article 19 no important decision is being made. The United States believes that no one can or should overlook the fact that the exercise of important prerogatives of the Assembly granted it under the charter is being impaired. The United States wishes to strengthen, not weaken, the United Nations by adhering to rather than departing from basic, sound principles. Therefore we must disclaim responsibility for the Assembly's attitude, which has developed contrary to the views we still hold to be valid, and place the responsibility where it properly belongs—on those member states which have flouted the Assembly's will and the Court's opinion.

We look forward, nonetheless, to the not-too-distant day when the entire membership will resume its full range of collective responsibility for maintaining world peace. In the meantime, it is all the more important for the membership, though unready to apply article 19, to solve the United Nations financial problems and to continue to support in practice the sound principle of collective financial responsibility, and to adopt practical and equitable means by which those willing to share the responsibility for peace can act in concert to maintain and strengthen the indispensable peacekeeping capacity of the United Nations.

Meanwhile, the Security Council retains its primary responsibility—this does not mean sole responsibility—for the maintenance of international peace and security; and the General Assembly retains its residual authority for this purpose, especially when the Security Council is unable to meet its responsibilities.

Mr. Chairman, my Government has never been prepared to accept a situation in which the capacity of the United Nations to act for peace could be stopped by the negative vote of a single member. Nor should the effectiveness of this Organization be determined by the level of support forthcoming from its least cooperative members.

The world needs a strengthened—not a weakened—United Nations peacekeeping capacity. Those who are prepared to help strengthen it—the overwhelming majority—must be in a position to do so with or without the support of the reluctant few until they learn, as they surely will, that a workable and reliable international peace system is in the national interest of all members.

My Government states these views here today in the conviction that the time is now for the General Assembly to get on with its heavy agenda, which is indeed the unfinished business of mankind.

We must find new strength and new capacities for building, brick by brick, the community of man.

Mr. Chairman, when my appointment was first announced I said that "the effort to bring the rule of law to govern the relations between sovereign states is the greatest adventure in man's history." These were not merely ceremonial words. They described, rather, a deep conviction on my part and a precise evaluation of what I think this work at the United Nations is all about. If President Johnson did not agree he would not have sent me here.

I would be less than candid if I did not state my conviction that the rule of law is not being furthered by the action of those

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Member States who are responsible for not implementing it. But establishing a rule of law is not easy and, despite temporary setbacks, we must persevere in what is not only a noble but an indispensable task if universal peace is to be achieved.

I therefore pledge to you, on behalf of myself, and on behalf of my delegation, and on behalf of the Government I represent, that the United States is prepared to join in a fresh drive to help the United Nations gather new strength until the rule of law is universally accepted—until the present and future generations are indeed safe from the scourge of war—until better standards of life in larger freedom are indeed the order of the day—and until the dignity and worth of the human person is realized everywhere.

Mr. Chairman, we agree, in light of present world tensions, that the General Assembly must proceed with its work. In doing so, it is well to remember the ancient counsel that while the world is full of tribulation, "tribulation maketh patience; and patience, experience; and experience, hope."

#### COOLIE SUPPLY TRAIN

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, in the Washington Daily News of August 9, there appears an article by the Scripps-Howard staff writer, George Carmack, on the primitive transportation system which is employed by those who oppose the Saigon Government. It is the coolie supply train which has apparently become the main source of supply for the insurgency. Thousands of human porters move north and south in an endless stream, carrying on their shoulders the necessities of warfare and survival. The "bitter effort"—for that is what "coolie" means—system of transport is as cruel and as exhausting as it is indigenous to China and many other parts of Asia. But it can be effective when the hands are many and the roads, vehicles, and even the pack animals are few.

The Senate should find this article by Mr. Carmack of considerable interest and I ask unanimous consent that it be included at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Daily News, Aug. 9, 1965]

#### COOLIE LINE SUPPLIES VIETCONG

(By George Carmack)

The Defense Department official's hands moved swiftly as he made his point:

"Over here put a little mound of sugar.

"Then over here put an anthill.

"The way those ants work back and forth"—and here his fingers danced in and out—"is the way thousands of coolies stream back and forth between North and South Vietnam carrying ammunition and other supplies to the Vietcong."

#### ON THE BACK

Most of the stuff North Vietnam sends to South Vietnam is moved in two ways:

The soldier himself carries it when he first goes south.

What he can't carry plus the necessary resupply is carried on the backs of coolies.

Some supplies must be carried as much as 600 miles. A trip down the Ho Chi-minh trail and into the southern part of South Vietnam might take a coolie as much as 6 months.

It is believed we have now shut off most of the men and supplies coming in by sea.

#### SEA PATROL

The South Vietnamese have about 500 armed junks on patrol. They also man about 40 naval vessels the United States has supplied them.

The U.S. Navy has brought into being a new 18-vessel unit called the Sea Surveillance Force.

The Coast Guard has 17 cutters operating in two groups.

Within North Vietnam the supplies can be moved over a good network of roads.

This is the area where the United States is doing much of its bombing and where thousands of workers have been shifted to keep roads and bridges under repair.

No supplies move directly across the short 50-mile-wide border between North and South Vietnam. The border has been heavily mined by both sides.

North Vietnam must move its supplies down through Laos. Many miles of the Ho Chi-minh trail are in Laos.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I join the distinguished Senator from Montana, the majority leader, and the distinguished Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], the chairman of the Subcommittee on Latin American Affairs of the Foreign Relations Committee, in hailing the fourth anniversary of the Alliance for Progress. Also, with respect to the President's speech upon this occasion, I wish to express the deep satisfaction that he has undertaken to call attention to new opportunities for the economic integration of the Americas which lie before us.

His call for the establishment of a continent-wide program—patterned after the European Coal and Steel Community—for the production and trade of fertilizers, pesticides, and other products needed to increase Latin American agricultural production and his offer of U.S. support for such a program is a most important initiative. This proposal is in line with recommendations made a week ago by the Inter-American Committee on the Alliance for Progress, CIAP and is supported by the achievements of the Central American Common Market and LATTA.

The President also proposed that the Congress eliminate the special import fee now levied on sugar.

Third, and very importantly, the President has called for further work on the stabilization of commodity prices, through the International Coffee Agreement and similar commodity agreements. This represents a great change in policy.

I speak personally now in expressing my personal gratification that the Presi-

dent seems to have taken up the idea of western hemispheric economic integration by encouraging the nations of Latin America to take the first big step, as Europe did with its European Coal and Steel Community.

Some time ago I spoke in Santiago, Chile, and earlier this year in Mexico City, and called for a common market encompassing all of Latin America, and then the formation of a Western Hemisphere free trade area including the United States and Canada, with certain exceptions, which were taken into account, in light of the specialized character of the economies of both South America and North America.

The first step that was taken along this line in Europe was in the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community. That could be the pattern here in the rationalization of the production of Latin American industry related to increasing Latin American agricultural production.

I hail this initiative. I get personal gratification from it, as an early proponent of this program, which follows the pattern of the ADELA Investment Co., with which the Senator is already very much familiar.

I hope very much that we will go through with helping our Latin American brethren to break through in this first step for the economic integration of the Americas.

I pledge my very best efforts toward attaining these enviable opportunities for peace and security and freedom, and in resisting Communist influences or even ultraright influences, such as those of military juntas.

I shall do everything I can to forward this historic and enormous objective.

I feel distinctly gratified, and perhaps feel the most gratification that I have ever felt, that this should have been taken up by the President of the United States.

Even the critics of the Alliance for Progress will agree that in this 4-year period the Alliance has achieved a great many successes both in terms of meeting the targets laid down in the Charter of Punta del Este and in terms of representing a historic turning point in U.S. policy toward Latin America.

In terms of economic development, the Alliance resulted in an extraordinary mobilization of Latin America's resources in the past 4 years. This year Latin American nations will not only contribute the 80 percent of the total investment capital called for by the Charter of Punta del Este for economic and social development—an average of \$8 billion a year—but will exceed it by 50 percent. The United States for its own part also fulfilled its pledges by committing \$4.4 billion in U.S. aid funds under the Alliance. Per capita gross national product rose by 2.5 percent last year—another key target set by the charter.

An effective multilateral organization—the Inter-American Committee of the Alliance for Progress—CIAP—is now a key element in the drafting and execution of development plans, the mobiliza-



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than 30 years in promoting more water for Kern County. He was a sparkplug in the drive to get the Central Valley project built and more recently has been in the thick of the fight to get Feather River project water for Kern County. About cloud seeding, Curran says:

"There is cloud seeding around here long enough to get some answers if people will only look at them. Those who have looked at the answers all say the same thing—it works. Right now the crying need is to expand cloud seeding in the Sierras to increase the snowpack."

Curran also points out one frequent misconception about the Kern County weather modification program, one that has worried an occasional row-crop farmer.

"None of the cloud seeding going on has any effect on rain in the valley itself," Curran explained. "The sole objective is to pile up more snow in the mountains, and encourage good forage growth in the foothills. I think one of the best measures of the success of the program can be seen in the flow of Poso Creek last year. It was the only stream in the entire State that produced the greatest amount of water in 25 years. It doesn't seem reasonable that this would have happened naturally, when it is so close to streams which didn't show any such gains. The only difference was that we seeded the watershed areas of Poso Creek."

Cloud seeding is of direct benefit to valley growers, however, in stepping up replenishment of groundwater supplies, said Curran, since virtually all of the groundwater under the valley floor comes from runoff of Sierra streams.

One of the most direct observations of cloud seeding results comes from Bert DeMarais, a Bakersfield charter pilot who has flown cloud-seeding runs for Precipitation Control Co. for 10 years. An instrument-rated pilot who regularly flies many local executives all over the West, DeMarais is actually the firm's junior pilot. Earl Turner, the firm's original "seeder" has just finished 12 years riding storms in the southern San Joaquin Valley.

As far as DeMarais is concerned, there is no uncertainty over whether cloud seeding makes for more rainfall.

"When we're up there working those clouds," he explains, "it's hard for us to understand how anyone can doubt that this thing works. We make a few seeding runs, then take a look under the clouds and it's raining pitchforks—not everywhere, but just where we laid on the smoke. How can you get around this kind of proof?"

[From the Bakersfield Californian, July 30, 1965]

#### RAINMAKERS LEARNED TRADE IN COCKPITS FLYING AMID CLOUDS

When the strange new technique of cloud seeding (artificial nucleation—the scientists called it) came out of the laboratory at the close of World War II, a rash of well-meaning people began heaving dry ice out of airplane cockpits, expecting a downpour to start any second.

Not so with Dave Merrill of Taft, president of Precipitation Control Company of California, which has been seeding clouds in the southern San Joaquin Valley for more than 15 years. When he became interested in this business, he first traveled thousands of miles to get the best thinking of reputable people in the field. But this still wasn't enough, he recalls.

"We soon found that getting more water out of those clouds depends on dozens of little 'nuts and bolts' techniques that had to be learned the hard way," Merrill said. "Our company has been learning and experimenting all the time, like a farmer does. We discovered by trial and error that effective cloud

seeding isn't learned all from a book or in a laboratory. We learned our trade right up there on top those clouds in the same way a farmer gets his knowhow mostly on the seat of a tractor."

Merrill says this "hard knocks" method of learning is one reason why weather modification isn't practiced as widely as he and other experts contend it should be.

"Most of the official interest in weather modification has gone into 'way out' research that has no local economic value," he claims. "In huge university laboratories, scientists are making painfully slow progress toward weather satellites and schemes to regulate weather over vast land masses."

"In our company, we're interested in such down-to-earth problems as stopping dust storms around Taft and in putting more water into Isabella Reservoir. Our work hasn't captured the imagination of the academic minds, but it's mighty important to local farmers, hunters, fishermen, lumbermen, and every taxpayer."

Kern County Supervisor Vance Webb, long a champion of cloud seeding, wasn't taking a flight of fancy when he first convinced the board of supervisors that cloud seeding made good hard business sense. He got interested when he saw county road maintenance costs go down after Precipitation Control Co. began seeding clouds in a western Kern area that used to be called the dust bowl.

"When we saw that the dust bowl problem was being licked, we took a second look," Webb recalls. Then we discovered how much the county was saving in road maintenance expenses at the same time that rainfall there was beginning to exceed that of the Bakersfield area."

Now, Webb is hopeful that an unusual "three rivers" experiment might grow out of research on cloud seeding which is now getting underway at Taft College under a contract with the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation.

Under this plan, three adjacent rivers in the Sierras would be selected for the test. Precipitation Control Co. has offered to seed the water shed area of the center stream of the three, leaving the outside streams unseeded as "controls." Unless the seeded stream produced runoff greater than would be normally expected on the basis of the flow of the "control" streams, the firm would receive no pay for its services.

Webb claims the experience of the past 15 years more than justifies such a test.

"With proven techniques of cloud seeding available, and with the evaluation procedures to be developed in the Taft College research program, the time will be ripe to find out just how worthwhile an aircraft weather modification can be to the economy of this area," he says.

In Webb's corner on this issue is Senator THOMAS H. KUCHEL.

"I believe that sufficient progress has been made in dynamic meteorology to justify serious consideration by the Bureau of Reclamation of an expanded program in our southern Sierra region," KUCHEL said. "Instead, the program is in danger of being stopped by a lack of funds before it has a chance to get started. This must not happen. With the background established by our local governments and private industry, the program launched by the Bureau can move ahead rapidly."

#### SALUTE TO THE REPUBLIC OF GABON

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, the end of colonialism and the emergence of free, self-governing nations which has been a postwar accomplishment in Africa brings about the observance of the fifth independence day for the country of Gabon on this date.

This scantily populated republic with a history stretching back to times predating settlement of our own country looks optimistically toward the future because of a wealth of natural resources and a history featured by harmonious relations with the longer established democracies. Fortunately for the people now burdened with heavy responsibilities, Gabon can draw on experience in the conduct of public affairs gained from warm association with Western Europeans.

For our own country, irrevocably committed to the ideals of human dignity and individual freedom, it is heartening that Gabon has remained aloof from the Communist lure which has influenced the course of many other fledgling republics on the vast African continent. Likewise, it is reassuring that Gabon possesses great potentials for sound economic development in her forests, mineral deposits, and hydroelectric capability. That country's willingness to welcome private investment and enterprise presents a cheerful prospect for international cooperation which can improve the living conditions and brighten the outlook for Gabon's aspiring citizens.

On this occasion, it is fit that the United States, now nearing the 200th anniversary of freedom, should salute the republic of Gabon, its Ambassador, His Excellency Aristide N. E. Issembe, and its dedicated public officials led by Head of Government Leon M'Ba as they observe their fifth independence day.

*Richard Wilson*  
SOME OBSERVATIONS OF RICHARD  
WILSON ON FACTORS IN U.S. FOREIGN  
POLICY AND VIETNAM

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, Mr. Richard Wilson, chief of the Cowles publications Washington News Bureau, has written a perceptive column on the role of the U.S. Heartland in American policy, which appeared in the Washington Star on August 16.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### MISSILE TARGETS IN U.S. HEARTLAND

(By Richard Wilson)

The tragic loss in the missile silo explosion in Arkansas brings to mind that these strategic military sites are located in the heart of the country.

So is headquarters of the Strategic Air Command and other SAC bases. These are the primary enemy targets in any conceivable nuclear war. Any enemy plan of action must depend on paralyzing them before missiles and planes from these bases are launched in retaliation.

Thus the once protected heartland of the Nation becomes the front line of defense, the first to feel an enemy's blow. In the nuclear age this means that vast clouds of lethal radioactive materials would be hurled above and fall upon many States in that section of the Nation which was once the home of isolationism.

It is a cruel anomaly. Events have exposed to desolation the geographical area where sentiment was once strongest against international entanglements and commitments. This is not to say that the great cities of the east and west coast or the Mid-

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gram of the Bureau of Reclamation. As a Californian, and as a member of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, intensely interested in any program that will increase precipitation and provide additional water for our rivers and streams, water which is so badly needed in many parts of our Nation, and our vast parched areas, I venture to hope that the Appropriations Committee will recommend to the Senate sufficient funds to continue the comprehensive programs of the Bureau.

There recently appeared in one of the fine newspapers in my State a series of articles dealing with weather modification by means of seeding of clouds. I ask unanimous consent that the articles from the Bakersfield Californian be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Bakersfield Californian, July 24, 1965]

## MORE WATER AVAILABLE ARTIFICIALLY

(More than 20 years ago, a pair of General Electric Co. researchers sent a tiny airplane aloft with a load of dry ice. The purpose was to confirm an accidental laboratory discovery—that clouds of moisture could be persuaded to drop their water burden if an artificial nucleus were provided. The results of that flight opened the door to unrestrained predictions about how man would soon control his weather environment. Now after two decades, these dreams appear unfilled. Is practical weather modification an elusive mirage? Has mankind enjoyed the rewards of more water from the sky? Strangely, a meaningful answer to these questions may come right here in the southern San Joaquin Valley because of several recent—and some old—developments. Because of the local importance of these developments, the Bakersfield Californian presents a four-part commentary on the present status of weather modification as it relates in increasing rainfall. It has been prepared by Bill Mead, a recognized water specialist of this area.)

## PART I

How do you get people to pay for rain? In a few words, this is probably the best answer to another question: Why hasn't cloud seeding accomplished more in the past 20 years?

During these same years, Americans have spent billions of dollars on projects to harness the water of countless rivers and move already fallen rain to places where it didn't fall. Yet there's impressive evidence to suggest that these water-diversion projects could be handsomely augmented by artificially stimulating more rainfall in water-short areas—for example, Kern County.

One of the main reasons why people have been quick to see the need for surface water distribution projects, but slow to give much credence to weather modification, gets back to human nature. When we build dams and canals, we can see the water we have trapped and we can measure it right to the place it's being transported, regardless how far away.

It's far different with cloud seeding. After all, who can prove that it wouldn't have rained anyway?

Only piles of statistics, gleaned over years of practical research, can bring to light the kind of ironclad evidence it takes to measure the economic value of cloud seeding.

Surprising to many people, much of the available evidence about the economic value of cloud seeding has been developed right here in Kern County.

For more than 15 years, a Taft-based firm called Precipitation Control Co. of California has stretched a "poor boy's" budget to lay plumes of silver iodide smoke (the modern successor to dry ice) on the billowing crowns of thousands of miles of rain clouds. Starting on the valley's west side, the firm has recently expanded its activities to the skies over the Sierra foothills.

Always faced with the built-in problem of how to get paid for its work, the Taft firm has survived through private contributions and the unwavering support of the Kern County Board of Supervisors.

Because its operations have been nip and tuck financially, Precipitation Control Co. has never been able to mount a weather modification campaign of large enough scale to give a precise answer to the question: How does it pay off in dollars and cents?

Several new developments, however, may change this picture and give everyone in the southern San Joaquin Valley a chance to see how cloud seeding may fit into the area's water program.

[From the Bakersfield Californian, July 27, 1965]

## SENATOR KUCHEL TO AID IN RAIN TRY

Man's efforts to wring more water out of the clouds may soon take a big step forward in the southern San Joaquin Valley.

In Washington, California Senator THOMAS H. KUCHEL has set a firm course toward getting enough Federal money to carry out a unique cloudseeding research project called the Southern Sierra Study. Revealing his confidence in the value of cloud seeding, KUCHEL said in a letter to Senate Appropriations Committee:

"For several years some of the counties located in the lower San Joaquin Valley have carried on a cloud-seeding program. According to the data furnished me, these programs—although limited in scope—have proven highly successful. I am convinced that cloud seeding to increase water supplies in mountainous areas offers an excellent chance to increase precipitation by economically significant amounts. How better can we obtain the so badly needed additional water in our rivers and streams, and eventually into our reclamation projects, in such a dramatic manner without the necessity of the long delay and expense of constructing new works?"

Here at home, Kern County Supervisor Vance Webb announced this week the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation has signed a contract with Taft College for a two-part research effort on weather modification. The first part will be the development of ways to evaluate cloud-seeding operations in a given area. The second part will be the actual use of these newly developed procedures to measure the effectiveness of a specific cloud-seeding operation.

The pact is for \$36,000, Webb was told by Taft College president, Carolyn Basham, and Walter Gartski of the USBR's Denver office. According to Webb, the research grant came as an outgrowth of an earlier weather modification research effort by Taft College instructor, Lawrence E. Peahl, in which he evaluated the results of cloud seeding on the west side by Precipitation Control Co. of California, which is based in Taft. Peahl's study showed that precipitation in the firm's target area had increased 78 percent during the study period.

Webb hailed the new contract as "a long-overdue look at the practical value of local weather modification."

He said the Kern Board of Supervisors has invested money in cloud seeding for several years because all available evidence indicates that it more than pays its way. The major problem, he says, has been the lack of accepted yardsticks for pinpointing results.

"We have been highly impressed with the accomplishments of Precipitation Control Co.," said Webb. "We've tried to measure it objectively from every direction and the answer keeps coming out the same—Precipitation Control Co. has increased rainfall wherever and whenever they've had the money to work."

Webb's confidence in the soundness of cloud seeding has received backing this year from an unexpected source—a large and successful business organization in San Francisco.

The Robert Dollar Co., through its president, R. Stanley Dollar, Jr., has assumed an active role in the affairs of Precipitation Control Co. The move drew this comment from Supervisor Webb:

"Obviously the interest of such a well-known California business organization could only be attracted on merit."

[From the Bakersfield Californian, July 28, 1965]

## RAINMAKERS' RECORDS INDICATE CLOUDSEEDING PROCEDURES PAY

One of the reasons why cloud seeding to increase rainfall has not become a more common practice is that it takes years of work and mountains of data to come up with conclusive evidence on how well it works and what's the best way to do it.

Here in Kern County, Precipitation Control Co., of California, has compiled an impressive record of weather information tending to show that its cloud-seeding operations have resulted in substantial rainfall increases.

Another source of data is the observation done by qualified local people.

One of these is Congressman HARLAN HAGEN. He's long been a booster for more weather modification research. HAGEN has studied rainfall records from Precipitation Control Co. and during recent years has laid much of the legislative groundwork in Washington that may bear fruit in Senator THOMAS KUCHEL's attempt to get more Federal research money for local weather modification firms.

Harry Hardy, operator of Bakersfield Livestock Auction, is another leader who thinks we might be missing a good bet by not supporting more cloud-seeding work.

Hardy is no visionary in his business. He lives in a world of weights and prices. Here is his opinion:

"I've watched cloud seeding in Kern County for several years, and I think it deserves more than the nickels-and-dimes support we've been giving it. I've looked at the grass in the Bitterwater area on the west side after clouds have been seeded there, and it is obviously much better feed than we would normally expect. I've seen the same results in the Sierra foothills after cloud seeding."

Hardy is in a good spot to see firsthand another of the many economic benefits claimed for cloud seeding. As cattle from all parts of the county have poured through his busy sales yard, he's noticed this:

"For the past 2 years, the earliest fat dry cows have come from the areas where cloud seeding has been done. I'll admit this is no scientific observation, but it's enough to convince me that a lot of people ought to quit laughing at what they call rainmakers and give the cloud seeders a fair chance to show how much they can do."

Hardy isn't the only working stockman who has noted interesting results from cloud seeding. Others report that calves from ranges in the target areas have weighed more at weaning time than ever before. They say this has happened in the past 2 years, the same period that cloud seeding has taken place in those locations.

Roland Curran, president of the Kern County Water Agency, has worked for more



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west are immune from attack. But there are stages of escalation in an imagined nuclear conflict in which only primary military targets would be struck. The critical military targets are in the heartland.

So it is that the 8,000 residents of Searcy, Ark., and the 30,000-plus residents of Minot, N. Dak., may be closer to ground zero than Washington, D.C., and there are other towns equally exposed: Salina, Kans., Mountain Home, Idaho; Wichita, Kans., Great Falls, Mont.

In fact, the greatest concentration of hardened-based Minuteman missile launchers—some 600—are in Montana, South Dakota, North Dakota, and Missouri.

This is something that people in the heart of the country do not like to think about or talk about, but it may be possible that, consciously or subconsciously, their attitudes are affected by their exposure to ground zero.

In many small colleges in the heart of the country the feeling against nuclear war or any kind of war runs strong, as pacifism ran strong in the 1920's.

U.S. Senators and Members of Congress from some of these States are the most doubtful about the war in Vietnam: Senator MIKE MANSFIELD, from Montana; Senator GEORGE McGOVERN, from South Dakota; Senator FRANK CHURCH, from Idaho; Senator J. W. FULBRIGHT, from Arkansas.

In the early days, those who disagreed with the isolationist Senators said they were truly isolated geographically, and thus had no appreciation of the stakes and interests involved. But this is not true any longer. The interests, in fact the existence, of Idaho, Montana, North Dakota, and South Dakota would be at stake, while, in one stage of nuclear escalation, New York City, Chicago, and Los Angeles might be spared—at least temporarily.

Yet it is evident that some of the same currents are running as 30 and 35 years ago, the same inclination to be isolated from the war in Asia as from the then oncoming war in Europe, but perhaps for sounder reasons.

Those who are opposing the further involvement that might lead to a war with Communist China are not truly isolationists, but, like the isolationists of the twenties, they refuse to relate the vital interests of the United States to events taking place across a great sea. They deny that there is any comparability between the interests which were at stake in Europe and those which may be at stake in Asia.

It is undoubtedly because these responsible opponents of President Lyndon B. Johnson's policy think that he has slowed down that they now have accepted quietly the new set of conditions on the Vietnam buildup.

They have, in fact, gotten certain concessions to their point of view from the President, insofar as he abandoned stronger action which he appeared on the verge of taking.

So, the voices from the exposed heartland are not going entirely unheard. Whatever the argument between Johnson and the Republicans on whether or not he was slowed down by the Democratic voices from the great exposed places, the fact remains that Johnson did not go as far as his opponents feared he would.

#### DEATH OF HON. C. PETRUS PETERSON SON OF NEBRASKA

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, Nebraska mourns the loss of one of its most distinguished citizens, Hon. C. Petrus Peterson, who died last Thursday, August 12, 1965, at the age of 85.

Active in civic affairs, an attorney and State legislative leader, and nationally recognized for heroic efforts in the interest of water conservation and reclama-

tion, C. Petrus Peterson carved an indelible place in the history of his State and Nation. He won the esteem of all who knew him, and they are legion.

A native of Polk County in east-central Nebraska, Mr. Peterson was educated at Luther Academy in Wahoo, Nebr., and Augustana College in Rock Island, Ill. He earned his law degree from the University of Nebraska at Lincoln, and in 1946 was awarded an honorary doctor of laws degree by Augustana.

Mr. Peterson had made his home at Lincoln, Nebr., since 1911, and he was a member of the State house of representatives 50 years ago. He served two terms in the house and in 1919 became a State senator. While serving as Lincoln City attorney he twice was a delegate to constitutional conventions, and helped write the present Nebraska State constitution. In 1941 he was elected to the first of four terms in the Nebraska unicameral legislature, serving as speaker in 1945.

Long identified with water conservation and reclamation efforts, Mr. Peterson was a leader in establishing the Nebraska Reclamation Association in 1944 and served as president of that organization for 2 years. He later served 4 terms as president of the National Reclamation Association, and in the late 1950's was an assistant for reclamation matters to the then Secretary of the Interior, Fred A. Seaton of Hastings, Nebr.

His stature among reclamationists of the country was such that in 1952 Mr. Peterson was the 13th nominee to the Reclamation Hall of Fame.

Among the many honors earned by Mr. Peterson was the Lincoln Kiwanis Club Distinguished Service Medal, awarded in 1958. Five years earlier, he had received the highest nonacademic honor offered by the University of Nebraska, known as the Builder Award.

Aside from his many achievements, Mr. Peterson will be remembered for his warm personality and keen wit. He will be remembered for his practical approach to problems, and for his deep concern for his fellow man.

Once, commenting upon his long service in the interest of water conservation, Mr. Peterson was quoted as saying: "No one who knows what happens to a community when water is short, who has planted and cultivated and then seen the crops die, can ever forget."

In conclusion, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to include as part of my remarks an editorial from the Lincoln Journal for August 13, 1965, entitled "Death of a Great Nebraskan."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### DEATH OF A GREAT NEBRASKAN

C. Petrus Peterson was "of Nebraska" and "for Nebraska." Because of this, the State is richer.

His dedication was enhanced by his great talents as a thinker, a doer, and a visionary. He used these talents during his years in the two-house and the one-house legislatures. To these, he added his political acumen, employing to the fullest "the art of the possible." One writer called him the "Great Compromiser," not of principle but of detail.

One of the monuments he built for himself was his work in reclamation. It was as

State senator that he started his campaign for the conservation of water and resources, a campaign which he carried on in Nebraska and in the Nation for the remaining years of his life.

How great a part his physical stature and his gift of oratory played in accomplishments can only be surmised. But to see and hear C. Petrus Peterson was to remember him.

The esteem in which he was held was demonstrated in June of this year when he was invited to speak to the 1965 legislature and was given a standing ovation by the senators. A reporter said of him then, "His white hair testimony to his years, but his memory undimmed, Peterson said, 'The legislature is not intended to be a brain trust. It is intended to be a responsible group chosen by the people—a system which has endured through the years.'"

Mr. Peterson's ethnic and pioneer origins shaped his life. He was born to Swedish immigrants who settled in Polk County. He went to a country school and only after he became an adult did he go on to higher education, first considering the ministry but finally deciding on law, which gave him great opportunity to use his gifts of leadership, oratory, and persuasion.

As a first-generation American he clung to some of the customs brought from Sweden by his parents, a delight to those with whom he shared them. His sauna bathhouses were famous and ever available to his friends.

Early life on a farm gave him an understanding of Nebraska and Nebraskans that served him well in serving Nebraska. In the death of C. Petrus Peterson, Nebraska has lost a man who was a delight to know and a man who left the State a better place because he had lived in it and loved it.

#### THE INDEPENDENCE DAY OF GABON

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, this summer of 1965 holds special significance for several of the newly independent nations of Africa. Five years ago these nations sought and achieved their independence from France. Among these nations was the Republic of Gabon, whose people will celebrate the fifth anniversary of the formal declaration of their independence on August 17.

Gabon is an interesting and unusual country. Small in size, and with a relatively small population, it possesses immense natural resources. These resources help to explain why Gabon has always had a favorable balance of trade and payments. In past years, Gabon has relied heavily on lumber exports from its rich equatorial forest. In recent years, vast mineral deposits have been discovered—iron ore in the northeast, manganese and uranium in the southeast, and petroleum fields on the coast around Port-Gentil. Some of these resources are already being exploited. The exploitation of others awaits the completion of transportation networks and production facilities. Already, however, the income from mineral wealth has underwritten much social and economic progress since 1960. The future is rich in promise.

The Republic of Gabon is also unusual because it has chosen to follow an atypical course in international affairs. It maintains very close ties with France, believing that fruitful cooperation with the former metropole does not jeopardize its independence. It has chosen not to enter into diplomatic relations with any member of the Sino-Soviet bloc. While

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participating in the work of the United Nations and many of its specialized agencies, and while promoting cooperative ties among African states, Gabon has nevertheless assigned secondary importance to a prominent international role and primary importance to progress at home. The people of Gabon have obviously benefited from this order of priorities.

Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to send my greetings to the people of Gabon on the anniversary of their independence, to salute them for their recent achievements, and to wish them every success in the future.

## PROJECT DIADEM

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, the importance of international exchanges was long ago confirmed as we witnessed the tremendous strides being made in generating better understanding through our various people-to-people programs.

Just recently, my home State of South Dakota was host to an exchange-type program in which agriculture extension leaders from some 40 countries came to this country to discuss the work and role of extension services in helping people help themselves to the better life.

Another program, which I would like to bring to the attention of the Senate, involves a South Dakota lad who has been in Denmark this summer as one of a group of young handicapped Americans representing every State and territory of the United States.

This program is called Project Diadem, which stands for Disabled Americans' Denmark Meeting.

The project was originated by Lord Mayor Urban Hansen of Copenhagen and by Marshall Fredericks, distinguished sculptor of Royal Oak, Mich.

The National Society for Crippled Children and Adults is cooperating in this significant venture to help further reduce the barriers to understanding among the peoples of the world.

Participating from South Dakota has been Ronald Anderson, of Astoria, S. Dak. In a recent letter from Ronald, written from Denmark, he wrote:

ASTORIA, S. DAK.

DEAR SENATOR MUNDT: I am sincerely enjoying my trip to Denmark. The Danish hospitality is more than one could believe. The Danish people are truly ambassadors of good will.

The ambassadors of the Diadem group hope that we are spreading as much good will as the Danish people are.

I am very proud and honored to be representing the State of South Dakota. I hope that I can do honor to our State.

Respectfully yours,

RONALD ANDERSON.

Mr. President, Ronald's letter demonstrates, I believe, the success such ventures achieve, and, knowing something about this fine young man, I am confident that he and his companions have extended an abundance of good will for America and truly has brought honor to our State as well as to the Nation.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a report on Ronald's trip as contained in a recent issue of the Clear Lake Courier,

a weekly newspaper published in Ronald's home county in South Dakota.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RONALD ANDERSON, ASTORIA, ON THRILLING TRIP TO EUROPE

Ronald J. Anderson, of Astoria, is a member of the group of young handicapped Americans representing every State and territory of the United States, now in Denmark on a unique international good will project named Project Diadem. The project was originated by Lord Mayor Urban Hansen of Copenhagen and by Marshall Fredericks, distinguished Royal Oak, Mich., sculptor.

The party, whose travel in the United States is sponsored by the National Society for Crippled Children and Adults, is spending 3 weeks in Denmark visiting many points of historic and cultural interest as well as studying institutions of all kinds relating to care and education of the handicapped. Official receptions by the Lord Mayor, U.S. Ambassador Katherine Elkus White and the mayors of many Danish cities are on the schedule, as is luncheon with Princess Benedikte at one of Denmark's most famous restaurants.

The group is also being entertained in private homes, at famed Tivoli Park and in a score of other places such as institutions for handicapped children and adults and the aged as well as the summer home of the former Prime Minister and other prominent Danish persons. They were guests of honor at the Fourth of July celebration at Rebild, where Mayor Robert Wagner of New York was chief speaker and members of the royal family of Denmark as well as some 40,000 Danes were present.

The following account is from Ronald and recorded directly from Copenhagen, Denmark:

I am embarking on the greatest voyage of a lifetime. I hope that I can prove myself worthy of the honor that has been bestowed on me. Some day I hope I can be part of making such a trip possible for someone. I have talked to many of the ambassadors and all of them feel as I do about the future. We all have this in common: we are all trying to get an education and have high hopes for a great and secure future. It is a privilege to be traveling with such a group.

The Danish people gave us a royal reception. I am very impressed by the cleanliness of the city of Copenhagen and by the tremendous hospitality of the Danish.

Mrs. Fanny Hartmann, Chief of Ministry of Social Affairs, gave a very interesting lecture about the Government duties and responsibilities to its people. I believe in a certain amount of socialized government but wonder if people should have everything done for them.

Mrs. K. Elkus White, the U.S. Ambassador, gave us a wonderful reception at the American Embassy. I talked to Mr. McGee, our Ambassador to Germany, which I enjoyed very much. He asked me if I would ever be interested in the Foreign Affairs Service. It has its possibilities now that I think about it.

We had lunch at the Collective House for the Disabled in Copenhagen. This is a very interesting place where apartments are available for handicapped people and all the treatment and hospital care is under the same roof. But everyone is free to live as they wish and there are only one-third of the residents who are handicapped, so they will be part of a normal community.

## OUR WHEAT POLICY

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, there continues to be considerable opposition to selling any wheat

to Russia or Communist bloc countries. Strangely enough, many who oppose such sales seem to think nothing of selling such commodities as soybeans to them. Some of the major ingredients of ammunition can be extracted from soybeans. Yet, wheat is the only farm commodity for which there are restrictions on shipping to Russia or its satellites.

Mr. President, one of the better editorials I have read on this subject is one entitled: "Our Stupid Wheat Policy" in the August 16 issue of the Bismarck Tribune published at Bismarck, N.D.

I ask unanimous consent to have this editorial inserted in the RECORD as part of my remarks.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Bismarck (N.D.) Tribune, Aug. 16, 1965]

## OUR STUPID WHEAT POLICY

According to W. C. McNamara, chief commissioner of the Canadian Wheat Board, farmers in Canada now have a market for every bushel of wheat they can harvest in 1965, regardless of the size of their crop.

This enviable situation is made possible largely by another Russian purchase of Canadian wheat, a 173 million-bushel deal which will bring to 221.6 million bushels the total Canada is to let Russia have this crop year.

North Dakota wheatgrowers, their income drastically reduced by the smaller acreages which have been forced upon them, may be pardoned if they look with some envy toward their Canadian cousins to the north.

If the Russians had been able to buy as much of the same kind of wheat in the United States as they're buying this year in Canada, it would have virtually eliminated the 273 million-bushel carryover of Hard Red Spring wheat.

No matter how big a crop we raise in North Dakota this year, it wouldn't be nearly big enough to fill this one order. But, as it is, our 1965 crop, estimated at 132 million bushels, will add substantially to the already large surplus. Because markets open to the Canadians are closed to us, we keep piling our wheat up in storage and keep on reducing farm wheat acreages and farmer earning power. Canadians expand wheat acreages and add to the income of their wheat farmers.

An important reason for this situation is a Federal order that half of all wheat shipped to Russia must be hauled in American ships, whose rates are so much higher than those of foreign lines that they price us out of the business. Here's a shipping subsidy, forced by the American maritime unions, that is being paid out of the wheat farmer's pocket because it cuts his wheat income.

The situation is ridiculous. And North Dakota, which raises the wheat most seriously in growing surplus, is the chief victim.

SERGE SAXE WRITES AN ODE AND JACK REYNOLDS A PROSE TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF J. FRANK DOBIE

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, nearly 1 year ago, on September 24, 1964, J. Frank Dobie passed away, and America lost one of the great progressive minds, intellectual giants, and free thinkers of our time. At the time of his death, many men were inspired to pay tribute to J. Frank Dobie in writing, because of the emotions he stirred within them, because of the symbol of life and freedom he represented to them. Money of these trib-



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utes were placed in the RECORD by me shortly after his death, with the unanimous consent of the Senate.

The books and writings of J. Frank Dobie were confined mainly to the life and lore of the American Southwest, but his love of nature and love of life knew no boundaries. His message transcended all barriers of environment, and reached men of varying intellectual stature and levels of society, the rich, and the poor, the great, and the humble minds. He reached them, because his writings stirred a basic response in the hearts of all men: The love of life and freedom. J. Frank Dobie saw man as a part of nature, and thus loathed the disregard and destruction of man's natural environment.

Frank Dobie was progressive, intellectually in advance of most of the people of his time, but he touched a chord of response in men everywhere. With wisdom and wit, he imparted the lore of his beloved Southwest; but he contributed as much to the political and governmental life of his State and Nation as he did to the world of literature, because he called out to the hope, freedom, and dignity of man, and people acted in response to the attitude and emotions he touched.

Now J. Frank Dobie is gone, but men still pay tribute to him in both poetry and prose, because of the universality of his teaching and writing. Two such tributes are an article by Jack E. Reynolds, a learned book man of Los Angeles, entitled simply "A Tribute," printed on pages 9 and 10 in the December 1964 issue of *The Branding Iron*, a quarterly publication of the Los Angeles Corral of the Westerners; and "Ode to the Memory of J. Frank Dobie," by Serge Saxe, the internationally known composer, music critic, and writer. This ode is printed on pages 90 and 91 of Mr. Saxe's new book entitled "Universal Pursuit: The Creative World of Serge Saxe," published by the Texas Quarterly Studies.

These two tributes to the great J. Frank Dobie are among the finest I have ever seen, and I ask unanimous consent to have them printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A TRIBUTE: J. FRANK DOBIE, 1888-1964  
(By Jack E. Reynolds)

The literary legacy of J. Frank Dobie, is a permanent part of the struggle for the continuity of a free America. Of his many honors, none was more relevant than the Presidential Medal of Freedom, which he received on September 14, 4 days before his death. In no lesser degree than his two friends and compatriots, Roy Bedichek and Walter Prescott Webb, Frank Dobie was an ardent conservationist. The rapacious destruction of man's natural environment was an anathema to him. When he wrote about the coyote, the longhorn, the mustang, and his fellow man, he revealed a deep-rooted faith in free men pursuing their destinies on a land unspoiled by irretrievable exploitation. The essence of Frank Dobie's appeal for and preservation of "nature's general glow was expressed in these lines of Gerard Manley Hopkins:

"What would the world be, once bereft  
Of wet and wildness? Let them be left,  
O let them be left, wildness and wet,  
Long live the weeds and wildness yet."

The books of J. Frank Dobie are mainly devoted to the region known as the American Southwest, but his treatment of that region is never parochial. He once wrote, "Nothing is too provincial for the regional writer, but he cannot be provincial-minded toward it," and again he said, "Great literature transcends its native land, but none that I know of ignores its own soil." Texas can no more claim J. Frank Dobie than Ulim-on-the-Danube can claim Albert Einstein; their minds soar beyond political and geographical boundaries.

The Los Angeles Westerners who were fortunate to be present at the dinner meeting the night Frank Dobie was their honored guest will not forget his enormous power to entertain and inform an audience. His very presence intensified the camaraderie of the membership and for a few memorable hours everyone enrolled in Frank's "eat, drink, and be merry school." The westerners who brought copies of Frank's books to be autographed were not disappointed. He inscribed them until he had writer's cramp. Frank had a sincere appreciation for the loyalty of the collectors of his books, and he felt his being asked to autograph them was the highest compliment.

J. Frank Dobie is gone, but the evening melody of crickets, the fragrance of coffee boiling over a campfire, the bark of a coyote on a moonlit night, and the dawn call of a bobwhite will forever be more meaningful for those who have listened to this immortal teller of tales.

He lived, he loved, he interpreted, he left his tracks in better stuff than sand. Like those mustangs of "Grecian grace" that his prose enshrined, J. Frank Dobie fought for freedom, unconfined by prejudice, assuming nothing, responsible to himself and to his fellow man. Now he rests in the soil of his beloved Texas, reminding those who knew him and who are nourished by his works of the rudeness of death, the aloneness that comes when mortality confounds us.

#### ODE TO THE MEMORY OF J. FRANK DOBIE

Compassion, valor, and a glowing heart,  
Never to shrink from conscience-pledged  
decision

Was rooted plummet-deep, not to depart  
An inch from his domain of mind and vision.  
Wisdom and knowledge, sparkling wit and  
hope,  
And close to nature's mystery and meaning,  
Yet from the Nueces River did his scope  
Develop into universal regions  
Of golden wings of love and cheer for legions.

Vast were the spheres of his exploring mind  
But vaster still the range of his humanity.  
His tales and yarns were legends of a kind  
That brought to life the past from its cap-  
tivity,

That conjured blessings of a sun long set,  
Of western skies and years not vanished yet.  
Mustangs and longhorns, San Jacinto corn,  
The living and the free, the downtrodden  
and forlorn,  
They all are players, jubilant and torn.

Oh meteoric light that is no more,  
A seer's radiant eye is closed whose beam  
Reflected sunlight on the ocean's shore,  
His manly grace and laughter but a dream.  
A Texan in England, who was Cambridge's  
pride,

He loved his native State, proclaimed its lore.  
His was a "pardlike spirit beautiful and  
swift"

As Shelley, whom he loved, was able to uplift  
His soul in darkened days and make it soar.

What then we ask ourselves in desolation,  
Is such life's meaning? Pondering its flame  
It burns, undying—although dead. It came  
From dawn in Live Oak County to illumine  
the Nation

In wholesome warmth and deep awareness  
of her land,

Of man and beast and every dweller's pride—  
And freedom's spirit high, unfettered, like a  
ride

Of all the creatures, tameless and unbowed—  
It spurns the prison of the mind and loud  
Resounds the fanfare of the future, promis-  
ing and proud!

*Fe. Douglas*  
VICE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS TO  
66TH NATIONAL CONVENTION OF  
THE VETERANS OF FOREIGN  
WARS

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, the 66th National Convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars meeting in Chicago was fortunate yesterday to have as their keynote speaker the Vice President of the United States.

I am impressed by the Vice President's cogent statement of our purposes in Vietnam and I think others will find his address well worth reading. In responding to those who ask "Why do we fight in Vietnam?" the Vice President paraphrases Churchill's comment in 1940:

If we left off fighting, you would soon find out. If aggression succeeds in one part of this world—

The Vice President asserts—  
it will quickly follow elsewhere. If we fail to stand today, we shall have to stand tomorrow even closer to home.

I comment the Vice President's address to all those who sincerely seek an answer to why we fight in Vietnam. I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS BY VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY, VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS, AUGUST 16, 1965

I am honored to deliver the keynote address to this 66th National Convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States.

I am grateful to your commander in chief, Buck Jenkins, for his kind words of introduction.

President Johnson, before I left Washington, asked me to convey to you his appreciation for the good work you have done throughout the years—and today as well—to make this a safer and freer world.

I join the President in that message of appreciation.

You cannot realize how much it means to your Government to know that there are strong and brave Americans standing in support when that support is most needed.

When necessity dictated action in the Gulf of Tonkin and in the Caribbean your commander in chief telegraphed the President your firm pledge of support.

A few months ago, during a time of uncertainty in the Atlantic Alliance, you demonstrated this Nation's commitment to that Alliance and to NATO when you conferred your Bernard Baruch Gold Medal on Gen. Lyman Lemnitzer before representatives of all NATO nations.

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And then you sent your commander in chief to southeast Asia to tell the leaders and the people of that part of the world that the VFW stood with President Johnson and the pledges this country had made there.

Buck Jenkins visited, too, our men in uniform in southeast Asia. He went to the Cambodian frontier, to the surrounded base of Da Nang, to the Marine beachhead at Chu Lai to tell our men that you were with them.

Today—facing great challenges in the world and at home—we Americans must work together in unity. We cannot afford in this country to give way to animosities and prejudice and division.

Your leadership in helping to create that national strength and unity has never been felt or needed more than today.

But let me get to what is on our minds. Today in Vietnam we are being tested by strong and tenacious adversaries. We face an assault by an enemy organized in detail, trained in depth, skilled in a strange kind of warfare we Americans have only begun to understand. We face an assault by adversaries able to infiltrate thousands of men across boundaries, to regroup those men into disciplined units, to attack weak points and then to fade away in face of equal or superior strength. We face an assault by men who use terror and assassination against civilians as normal weapons.

We face something else as well: The fact that the totalitarians feel that time is on their side—and their belief that we will inevitably tire and withdraw.

Today there are voices raised in this land which say: "Why are we there? Why do we fight? Let us pull back to a safer, easier place."

To these voices I answer with the words of Winston Churchill.

In 1940, Churchill was asked "Why does Britain fight?"

And Churchill said: "If we left off fighting, you would soon find out."

In Vietnam, if we left off fighting we would soon find out.

For Vietnam is the testing ground of that misnamed "war of national liberation." (And what a cruel joke this liberation really is: Liberation from life, from property, from justice, from human dignity.)

By this new form of totalitarian aggression—and that is what it is—our adversaries seek to demonstrate once and for all that peaceful coexistence does not work. They seek to demonstrate that aggression and reckless militancy brings victory. They seek to demonstrate—as Hitler and Stalin tried to do—that democracies are weak and flabby. They seek to demonstrate that, when faced with a choice, democracies will sacrifice small nations to save, even temporarily, their own hides.

Three Presidents of the United States have pledged this Nation to the defense of South Vietnam.

Three Presidents of the United States have given notice to the Communist aggressors: The cost of aggression comes too high. You must leave your neighbors alone.

Make no mistake about it. If aggression succeeds in one part of this world, it will quickly follow elsewhere. If we fail to stand today, we shall have to stand tomorrow even closer to home.

Let it be known, then, that we will honor our commitment in Vietnam, just as we honor our commitments in other parts of the world.

Now, just what are our objectives in Vietnam?

Our first objective is to prove to the Communist aggressors that free men will not yield to force of arms.

That is why we have strengthened our forces in Vietnam. That is why we have increased our assistance to a brave South Vietnamese army and a brave South Vietnamese people.

The South Vietnamese army since 1961 has suffered 25,000 dead and 51,000 wounded—greater losses, in proportion to population, than we suffered in all of World War II; 10 times our losses in the Korean war.

That South Vietnamese people, last year alone, lost 438 local officials to assassination, lost another 1,100 officials to kidnapping and an unknown fate, lost 11,000 civilians to murder, kidnapping, and forced labor—but, in face of intimidation, turned out to vote in recent elections in far higher percentages than we usually reach in our own American elections. A full 67 percent of the South Vietnamese adults—under threat of death—registered to vote. And some 73 percent of those registered did vote.

Our second objective—once we prove to the aggressors that aggression will not work—is to bring a just peace to a land that has gone too long without peace.

We have made it clear, again and again, that we are ready to negotiate toward that just peace.

For, as our President has said, we fear the meeting room no more than we fear the battlefield.

No less than 15 times we have offered to begin discussions. Many nations have sought to bring the aggressors to the conference table.

But the reply has been "no."

What must we do?

We must continue to resist aggression. And we must continue to pursue peace.

We must make the aggressors realize that democracies have learned their lessons well. We must make them realize that our patience is greater than theirs and that time is on our side.

And at the same time we must continue to recognize that the people of Vietnam, as people everywhere, must have hope of a better day. We must continue to do all we can to help create, in South Vietnam, in southeast Asia, in all places where man desperately hopes for a new tomorrow—we must help create societies which offer man something to live and work for.

Let us not forget: The real revolution in the world today is the revolution which took flame from our own in America, the revolution toward opportunity, human dignity, self-determination, and self-respect.

We are the authors of this world revolution. It is our obligation, in our strength and wealth, to give it continued life. And it is—in Vietnam, in Europe, in Latin America, in great nations and small—our obligation to defend it when it is threatened by ruthless force. And this we shall do.

We are meeting the responsibilities of leadership, and we are meeting them with strength and courage.

Strength and courage are what we will need.

For there is no end in sight to the burdens we must carry, to the challenges we face.

The American people are a great people. And greatness is what the times demand.

The American for today and tomorrow must be, will be, the same restless, adventurous citizen as his forebears.

I see him as the son of a rich nation, yet a person of conscience with a deep concern for his fellow man.

I see him as one who has defeated the enemies of freedom, yet extends the hand of friendship and cooperation to build a new and better world community.

I see him surrounded by materialism, yet questioning its value, impatient with things as they are, but not impetuous in remedy or judgment.

Strong, but not belligerent.

Willing to debate, but able to decide.

Yes, the road ahead demands an American Nation fully able to wear the mantle of leadership.

And so today we are building here at home an America both free and secure—a

nation, under God, truly indivisible with liberty and justice for all.

And in this task we ask your continued help: The task of extending opportunity and justice to all our citizens, the task of building a vigorous and expanding economy, the task of forging a nation of free people able to stand a contest of will with any totalitarian.

We Americans, too, are devoting ourselves today to the belief that what we do is not for our benefit alone, but for the benefit of all mankind.

And again in this task, too, we ask your continued help: The task of helping struggling nations into citizenship in the world. And make no mistake about it, these nations—a full two-thirds of the world—are targets for those who promise quick and easy solutions to old and complex problems.

And, finally, in America today we are putting ourselves to the greatest test which free men face—the willingness to risk our lives, fortune, and sacred honor on alien soil to keep a commitment; to resist the aggressor; to restore the peace.

Each man here today has, at one time, put himself to that same test.

And each man here stood his ground for his country and for freedom.

The family of man has much to lose to the takers, the destroyers, the aggressors. The family of man has much to gain in a world of peace and opportunity.

There is a time when men must stand in face of force and those who break the peace.

In the words of our President: "We will stand in Vietnam."

## THE TRAINING OF CONGRESSIONAL STAFF MEMBERS

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, on July 21, the Senator from Alaska [Mr. BARTLETT] introduced a bill (S. 2345), of which I am now a cosponsor, to amend the Government Employee's Training Act. This bill, if enacted into law, would extend to legislative employees the opportunity to participate in professional and career training programs and meetings.

The role played by congressional staffs in the legislative process has steadily increased in importance over the past half century. Today, the functions performed by congressional staff members are absolutely vital to the successful conduct of congressional duties.

Given the importance of staff, it is imperative that congressional staff members be well trained in the techniques and skills necessary to perform their duties. S. 2345 would enable congressional staff members to improve and augment their skills by participating in programs conducted successfully by various administrative agencies since 1958.

These programs cover a number of training areas. Of particular value to congressional staff members would be the clerical and technical skills training; training in administration, management, and supervision; and executive development.

Another benefit that congressional staff members would derive from the bill is the opportunity to participate in the 2-week interagency conferences which have been so successful in upgrading the professional and managerial competence of the civil service. Participation in these conferences would give congressional employees a valuable opportunity



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his car. "All I want is to get out of here," he said.

The air was charged with shouts of "Watch it." "Get back." Obscenities shrieked against police and whites in general, and the police, ambulance, and fire sirens wailed constantly.

The firehouse trucks, answering nine false alarms, were also pelted with bottles.

At midnight the rioting, which had begun in full force about 8:30 p.m., was still out of control. Police had sealed off a four-block section of Pulaski Road, but new looting and bottle throwing broke out near the busy Eisenhower Expressway.

The Reverend Patrick J. McPolin, a Roman Catholic police chaplain, described last night's fighting with police the worst he had seen in his 20 year's experience.

### THE RIVERS AND HARBORS CONGRESS RECREATION COMMITTEE REPORTS

(Mr. EDMONDSON asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I have the privilege of serving as chairman of the Committee on Recreation and Wildlife of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress.

This committee met during the annual convention of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress here in Washington in June and discussed a number of vital subjects of interest to sportsmen, and to all Americans who use the outdoors for recreation. I believe the views of this committee, whose members come from many States in the Union, ranging from the east to the west coast, are of interest to all Americans, and place the complete committee report in the Record at this point:

#### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RECREATION AND WILDLIFE AT THE 52D NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL RIVERS & HARBORS CONGRESS

Meeting called to order by Mr. Richard H. White, Jr., assistant to Congressman Ed EDMONDSON, of Oklahoma, as the Representative was detained by legislative action.

Cochairman Hodges, Florida, was not present to assume chairmanship.

Motion by Coy, Ohio, seconded by Price, California; approved, electing Leigh E. Eisenhauser, Ohio, temporary chairman.

Thereupon L. Bennett Coy, Ohio, was appointed acting secretary.

The chairman then presented in order the following congressional bills for comment, consideration and/or action by the committee:

H.R. 5169: Tocks Island National Recreation Area. Motion by Voight, Pennsylvania; second, Sawyer, New Hampshire. Unanimously approved and encourage acceleration of project.

H.R. 23: Anadromous fish. Motion by Critchfield, Washington; second by Swearingen, Texas. Unanimously approved bill. Encourage passage thereof.

H.R. 1111: Coordinated natural resources planning on national level.

S.B. 21: Companion bill. Motion, Price, California; second, Voight, Pennsylvania. Unanimously approved, recommend passage.

H.B. 3988: Federal water pollution.

S.B. 4: Control act amendments. Motion Price, California; second, Critchfield, Washington. Unanimously endorse principle contained in bills but neither approved as presently constituted.

S.B. 560: Clean Air Act. Motion, Voight, Pennsylvania; second, Young, Maine. Unani-

mously approve tabling recommendation as subject out of jurisdiction of this committee. H.B. 5269: Recreation and fish; and S.B. 1229: Wildlife benefits. Motion, Price, California; second, Swearingen, Texas. Unanimously endorse theory of legislation in this field but not this specific bill.

S.B. 98: Preservation of shoreline areas. Motion, Young, Maine; second, Sawyer, New Hampshire. Unanimous endorsement and encourage passage and accelerated action.

Swearingen, Texas, initiated discussion of State participation with Bureau of Outdoor Recreation; Ohio, Washington, and California discuss programs of those States.

Motion by Coy, Ohio; second Swearingen, Texas, and unanimously approved that—

1. National office, N.R. & H. Congress to provide promptly copy of minutes of this meeting to all participants as listed later in these minutes.

2. Participants are to be polled concerning agenda for next year's (1966) meeting.

3. Copies of agenda for next year's (1966) agenda to be mailed to all participants of this meeting.

Central Arizona project and other western regional projects were discussed and on motion of Price, California; second by Critchfield, Washington, committee unanimously endorsed consideration and, where practicable, inclusion of recreation and wildlife features in studies leading to development of above projects.

Motion by Frost, Ohio, second by Critchfield, Washington, unanimously approved to encourage review of funding of Small Boat Harbors of Refuge by the Corps of Engineers and Bureau of Budget to eliminate inconsistencies in administration.

The following individuals, representing their several States, participated:

Leigh E. Eisenhauser, delegate, Ohio.  
Reg Price, delegate, California.  
Col. Donald A. Young, delegate, Maine.  
Carroll Swearingen, delegate, Texas.  
E. L. Bussey, delegate, Pennsylvania.  
F. J. Jeffers, delegate, Maryland.  
Valein A. Gischlar, delegate, Louisiana.  
Wilmer J. Michel, delegate, Louisiana.  
Dorothy H. Veon, delegate, Pennsylvania.  
Robert C. Sawyer, delegate, New Hampshire.

J. Ray Heath, delegate, Washington.  
Larry Hall, delegate, Washington.  
C. Truett Smith, delegate, Texas.  
Otto Wettstein, III, delegate, Florida.  
Victor R. Schmidt, Jr., delegate, Texas.  
W. Swearingen, delegate, Texas.  
E. R. Dieckmann, delegate, Ohio.  
H. W. Groth, delegate, Ohio.

L. Bennett Coy, delegate, Ohio.  
Hays Arnold, delegate, Georgia.  
Chester A. May, Jr., delegate, Georgia.  
S. L. Frost, delegate, Ohio.  
Ney C. Landrum, delegate, Florida.  
Wm. Voight, Jr., delegate, Pennsylvania.  
P. T. Lagrone, delegate, Mississippi.  
B. M. Davis, advisory committee, Alabama.  
C. R. Gutermuth, delegate, District of Columbia.

There being no further business the meeting was, on motion, adjourned.

LEIGH E. EISENHAUSER,  
Acting Chairman.  
L. BENNETT COY,  
Acting Secretary.

### INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCE IN SOUTH VIETNAM

(Mr. HALPERN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, in a letter of July 24, I urged the President to direct our Ambassador to the United Nations to call upon the General Assembly to dispatch an international peace-

keeping force to South Vietnam, to patrol the borders of that beleaguered nation, and put an end to the infiltration of men and materiel. The force could also secure areas of relative safety, where the civilian population might find refuge and succor from the scourge of war.

I would like to point out that the barriers which barred our taking this path to peace were lowered yesterday by the new policy announced by Ambassador Goldberg. For, in stating that we would not insist upon the application of article 19, we made possible the normal functioning of the U.N., and at the same time, reaffirmed the clear legal right of the General Assembly to provide for the maintenance of peace and security by dispatching peacekeeping forces. This was the essence of the controversy, and on this point we stood firm.

Now that this first vital step has been taken, I strongly urge the President to continue to strengthen the U.N., by giving it this opportunity to secure and preserve peace in southeast Asia.

### SUPPORT FOR BANK MERGER LEGISLATION

(Mr. MONAGAN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks, and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, the House Banking and Currency Committee is currently conducting hearings on the bank merger bill, S. 1698, which is identical to my bill, H.R. 9457.

The Meriden, Conn., Journal in its edition of August 11, 1965, carried an editorial which points up the importance of this legislation in removing the threat which has hung over merged banks as a hazard to the banks themselves, to their investors, to their customers and, particularly, to thousands of depositors in mutual savings banks. I believe this editorial should be shared with my colleagues and with permission to extend my remarks I include this article for the Record:

[From the Meriden Journal, Aug. 11, 1965]

#### BANK MERGER LEGISLATION

Hearings are scheduled to start today before the House Banking and Currency Committee on a Senate-passed bill (S. 1698) affecting bank mergers. H.R. 9457, a companion measure introduced in the House by Representative JOHN S. MONAGAN of the Fifth District, will also be heard by the committee headed by Representative WRIGHT PATMAN.

Bankers throughout the country are much interested in the proposed legislation. Its passage would expedite five big bank mergers, and would relieve the anxiety of banks which have merged since 1950—2,200 of them, with assets totaling more than \$15 billion.

Federal courts, in several cases between 1962 and 1965 have held certain mergers consummated pursuant to the Bank Merger Act of 1960 to be in violation of antitrust laws.

The statute of 1960 gave jurisdiction over bank mergers to the Federal Reserve Board, the Comptroller of the Currency, and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, depending on whether the newly created bank operated under a State or a national charter. It was generally understood to exempt bank mergers from antitrust laws. Lyndon B. Johnson, then Senator, said in 1960 that the

where and, indeed, the rapid rise of crime generally.

In any event, a principal lesson is that the most far-reaching legislation and all the attention-getting, purportedly peaceful demonstrations cannot alone solve the fundamental problems. The studies all show it: Portions of the Negro community are on a treadmill of illegitimacy, crime, and isolation from the values of the society.

The high Negro birth rate alone is cause for pessimism. It can mean that for every individual who can be helped on the road to achievement, two others may be caught on the treadmill. In the face of such circumstances, a voting rights act appears almost as an irrelevancy.

It is utterly unjust, in our opinion, to lay the blame for these conditions exclusively at the door of the white man. We may well curse the day that white immigrants to the United States imported and held slaves; we cannot, century after century, nourish a guilt complex for ancestral evil. Unless, that is, we are prepared to accept the impossible proposition that we living today are guilty for every cruelty perpetrated throughout the eons of human existence.

Moreover, the individual's responsibility for his own life is fundamental to a free, civilized society. Other ethnic or national groups have come to these shores, some hardly better than as slaves and most the victims of prejudice and exploitation at first; a great many of them nonetheless prospered through initiative and frugality. While it is true that a black skin makes a special difference from the others, this phenomenon of nature is becoming less and less a consideration in the rewards of citizenship, employment policies, and social relations.

Not everyone, black, white, or whatever, can make out in this or any other country. There are poor whites, whites with inadequate intelligence or motivation, in Harlem, the South, and Los Angeles; conversely the roster of successful Negroes is a long one. The glory of America is that, because opportunity exists for the individual, more people of all kinds have achieved the good things of life than anywhere else in the world today or at any time in history.

But if the Negro people as a group are to find significant improvement in the years ahead, they cannot rely entirely or even mainly on the white majority. The white community is trying to help, is going far more than half way to meet the Negro, and yet in the end the Negro must do much more for himself.

That means in particular, we think, that the civil rights leadership should turn from its spectacular displays and occasional rabble-raising and devote itself to a far greater degree to Negro individuals, Negro children, Negro families; to education in the home and group as well as in the school. We refuse to believe that considerable progress would be unattainable once more Negroes acted on the realization that further advancement requires a determined effort on their own part.

Hoodlums, it is said, set off the Los Angeles race war, which is still being waged as these words are written. Hoodlumism, we may be sure, will be put down. Meantime the gangsters and all the rest of us are, in part at least, rapping the whirlwind of a long sowing of needless bitterness, dissension, and contempt for order and common decency.

[From the Washington Star, Aug. 16, 1965]

#### A TRAGIC TIME IN U.S. HISTORY

(By David Lawrence)

This certainly is a tragic time in American history. Will it be like the worrisome era of Reconstruction which followed the War between the States?

More than 30 persons were killed in the last few days in Los Angeles, and hundreds

were injured in the riots there. The estimated damage to private property exceeds \$100 million. Serious riots also occurred in other big cities such as Chicago, and looting has been a sequel to almost all the disturbances.

With troops of the California National Guard called out, and National Guardsmen on duty also in Chicago, in an effort by the States to assist the local police, there is beginning to be a resemblance to the military rule which was directed against the South a century ago but which this time affects all sections of the country.

The causes of all these outbursts cannot be oversimplified as attributable merely to race consciousness or to the effects of discrimination. The trouble goes deeper. It has to do with the impulses to crime that grow out of idleness, unemployment, and listening to those impassioned speakers and demonstrators who preach nonviolence but themselves practice what amounts to an incitement to violence.

But this is not the whole story. The truth is American cities are becoming more and more congested as population grows by leaps and bounds. America has not really come to grips as yet with the problems growing out of constant unemployment among the unskilled and uneducated masses.

It happens that most of those persons engaged in the riots of the last few days as well as other disorders in recent months are Negroes—but the crime wave in the United States is not limited to interracial conflict. Even here in the National Capital, where the Negro population is in the majority, the attacks on Negroes by Negroes are increasing in number.

So the answer doesn't lie in more oratory on the subject of civil rights. What is needed is more knowledge about the importance of obeying local ordinances and the laws that are designed to preserve order. This is where the Negro leaders could become more active.

In the last few days, for instance, many of the better educated and the sensible leaders among the Negro groups have tried desperately in Los Angeles, Chicago, and elsewhere to try to persuade the mobs to disperse. But they have not been too effective. For, once a match lights the fires of race hatred over any episode, however, trivial, it is hard to extinguish the flames that spread so rapidly.

Maybe the outbreaks in the big cities were inevitable, but the effects of what many Negro leaders said when they preached civil disobedience cannot be ignored. Many white clergymen, too—befuddled by their desire and instinct to be helpful, yet really unaware of, if not untutored in, the fundamentals of law—have kept on arguing that it is morally right to disobey what an individual may decide for himself is an "unjust" law.

These clergymen unwittingly have been advocating rebellion and revolution. They rationalize this by saying it is something that our forefathers did at the Boston Tea Party or that the Scriptures recorded in ancient times.

But it's one thing to engage in revolution against a tyrannical regime, and it is quite another to disobey laws and written ordinances which any citizen, joined by his fellow citizens, can seek in proper ways to modify or repeal under a constitutional system. For redress is available, and it can be obtained through legal processes rather than by force.

As long as pickets can engage in violent demonstrations at the White House or at the Capitol here or in municipal buildings and yet not meet with emphatic and vehement reproof from the Negro leaders themselves, such examples indicate to less educated persons that mob action is permissible and justified. They easily become tools of extremists, who are often educated persons and

should know better. Gov. Edmund G. Brown, of California, says the riots actually were instigated by organized gangs.

The responsibility now rests with the President and the Congress and the Governors of the States, as well as mayors of all cities, to make clear again and again to the people who do not understand such things that the right to demonstrate does not mean there is a license to create disorder or to stimulate the criminal elements who loot stores, set fires and attack innocent bystanders.

There certainly needs to be a moratorium on all kinds of street demonstrations until the authorities in Government can restore law and order while at the same time tackling the deeply rooted causes of unrest, especially in employment and education.

[From the Washington Star, Aug. 14, 1965]

#### SCORES HURT IN VIOLENCE IN WEST SIDE CHICAGO

CHICAGO.—Rioting broke out for the second straight night in a West Side neighborhood last night with about 150 policemen engaged in a wild battle with several hundred Negroes.

Police reported 18 policemen and 47 civilians, most of them Negroes, were injured in the brick throwing and fighting. Police arrested 100 persons, most of them on charges of disorderly conduct.

Police continued to patrol the district during the early morning hours and the situation appeared eased.

Police battled the angry mob up and down an eight-block stretch of Pulaski Road in the Garfield Park district. The rioters, some on rooftops, hurled missiles out of the darkness.

#### LOOTING ERUPTS

Windows in scores of stores were smashed and police reported much looting.

Last night's fighting started after hundreds of Negroes came to the scene of Thursday night's disturbance for a civil rights demonstration. The fighting erupted into a full-scale riot after Robert Wiens, 25, a white policeman on his way to work in civilian clothes, was attacked and slashed by a group of Negroes.

A mob had gathered at a fire station Thursday night after a 20-year-old woman was accidentally killed. The woman, Dessie Mae Williams, was crushed by a falling traffic sign which was toppled from its moorings by a hook and ladder fire truck responding to a false-alarm fire. Three firemen were suspended. Seventeen Negro firemen were assigned to the fire station in an effort to forestall further demonstrations.

Last night's civil rights rally was in protest of the Negro woman's death and alleged lack of integration in the fire department.

But Lawrence Landry, spokesman for a civil rights group, ACT, told the group that "You live in leaky little houses infested by rats."

Some Negroes in the crowd began chanting: "Revenge." "Fight" and "Let's kill 'em."

Suddenly, about 200 Negroes came streaming down the street after Wiens.

"I was driving through the street and this guy was blocking my car," Wiens said before being taken to a hospital. "I got out and chased him." The bulky policeman's head was covered with blood.

#### WHITE YOUTHS BEATEN

As darkness fell more than 500 persons milled throughout the district. Bottles and bricks flew wildly, injuring police and bystanders. Several white youths passing through the area were assaulted with baseball bats. An empty police squad car was overturned and set on fire.

Windows of cars driven by whites were shattered by beer bottles. A white cabdriver, dazed and bleeding, stumbled out of



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## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — APPENDIX

August 17, 1965

V-J Day and Our Fighting Men in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS  
OF

HON. LYNN E. STALBAUM

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Governor Hughes, while disagreeing with the professorial "prejudices and opinions" enunciated, reminded alarmed critics that the "security of the Nation \* \* \* is intended to protect the basic principles of the American system and these include freedom of debate as well as academic freedom."

Just what is "academic freedom"? Traditionally it is described as the freedom of scholars to direct their search for truth and to report the results of their findings. Those who feel that many more incompetent people are kept on faculty payrolls in the name of academic freedom, than are dismissed in violation of it contend that the modern definition seems to maintain the right to say what one thinks without thinking what one says.

However, after serious study of the benefits and drawbacks of an unfettered freedom in academe many have agreed that the costs and dangers of suppressing ideas will always be greater than the real or the fancied risks of permitting their expression. The encouraging of independence and originality of thought is a source of educational strength.

Controversy cannot be outlawed in our universities. Rather it must be presented there in the citadel of learning to guarantee the most reasoned argumentation, consideration, and conclusion by a free citizenry determining governmental action.

While there cannot be rights without obligations, neither can there be obligations without rights. Here do we discover the distinction between open and closed societies. A mature man insists upon freedom that he might thereby exercise responsibility.

The official catalog of the archdiocesan university includes this sentence: "Seton Hall takes a positive attitude toward the traditional American concern for liberty under law. Thus it is that she defends an academic freedom which respects the common good, the inviolable dignity of each person, and equality of opportunity for all."

Those among us who are disturbed by teach-ins might reflect upon these words of Justice Brandeis written decades ago: "If there be time to expose through discussion the falsehoods and fallacies, to avert the evil by the processes of education, the remedy to be applied is more speech, not enforced silence."

## The Freedom Academy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS  
OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, on July 30, radio station WOKE, in Charleston, S.C., broadcast an editorial by its able president and general manager, Harry C. Weaver, on the Freedom Academy bill now pending in Congress. I ask unanimous consent that the text of this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[A WOKE radio editorial, July 30, 1965]

CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL OF THE FREEDOM ACADEMY BILL IS NOW A POSSIBILITY

(By Harry C. Weaver, president and general manager, WOKE, Charleston, S.C.)

Six years ago, during the 86th Congress a proposal was made by Congressman A. SYDNEY HERLONG, of Leesburg, Fla., that a Federal agency be established to be known as Freedom Commission and Freedom Academy.

On July 20, 1965 the House Committee on Un-American Activities, to which the Freedom Academy bill was referred, gave its unanimous approval of the final bill with some amendments, reported it out to the Committee of the Whole House and recommended that the Freedom Academy bill, as amended, be passed by the U.S. House of Representatives.

What is the purpose and objectives of the Freedom Commission and the Freedom Academy?

The formation of such an agency could be a most significant step forward in our land of freedom after so many years of hard endeavor to enact a comprehensive nonmilitary program for the United States and the free world in the global struggle against the swelling tide of communism. The purpose and objectives of the Freedom Commission and Freedom Academy would be to conduct research to develop an integrated body of operational knowledge in the political, psychological, economic, technological, and organizational areas to increase the nonmilitary capabilities of the United States and other nations in the world struggle between freedom and communism; to educate and train Government personnel and private citizens to understand and implement this Federal body of knowledge; and to provide education and training for foreign students in these areas of knowledge under appropriate conditions. There is a crying need in our country today for such an institution as the Freedom Academy "to assist in the development of methods and means employable in both the governmental and private sectors to counter all forms of Communist political warfare, subversion, and insurgency, while seeking to preserve and build free and viable societies."

The companion bill to Congressman HERLONG's House legislation was introduced into the U.S. Senate by Senator KARL E. MUNDT, of South Dakota, 2 months later in 1959 and finally passed the Senate on August 31, 1960. There was no opportunity for action on the House bill for Congress adjourned 1 day later. The present Senate bill (S. 1232) was introduced by Senator MUNDT and cosponsored by 11 other Senators. Senator MUNDT is very optimistic that with the unanimous vote of the House Committee on Un-American Activities will come serious consideration for early action by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. It is Senator KARL MUNDT's conviction that the findings of the House committee sound anew the warning that we Americans cannot depend only upon military defenses in the cold war effort to preserve freedom. The Senator from South Dakota was greatly impressed with the House committee's six major points in its contention that "if this country and other non-Communist nations are to realize their full capacity to engage in the type of global struggle which has been forced upon them it is essential that a thoroughgoing program of research, education, and training in the area of Communist political warfare be established."

In preparing ourselves for psychological warfare with the enemies of freedom, we can better meet the Communist challenge if we know what the challenge is all about. We are yielding ground to communism which we need not yield if we have in hand a complete understanding of the most effective and appropriate methods for advancing freedom's cause. We of WOKE feel that such an anti-Communist agency as the Freedom Commission and the Freedom Academy would greatly benefit the cause of freedom through proper education of uninformed American citizens. We urge the people of the low country to write our two Senators and six Congressmen in Washington and urge their support and influence with other Senators and Congressmen for passage of this Senate and House Freedom Academy bill.

Mr. STALBAUM. Mr. Speaker, my esteemed colleague, Representative CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI, second highest ranking member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, and chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on the Far East and Pacific, recently gave an analytical firsthand report on the accomplishments and objectives of America's fighting men in Vietnam. He gave this presentation on August 13 to the Allied Veterans Council joint observance of V-J Day at Milwaukee where the theme fittingly was: "A Tribute to Our Fighting Men in Vietnam."

The close and accurate knowledge that Congressman ZABLOCKI has of the free world commitment against the spread of communism is of such great import to all Americans that I take exceptional pleasure in inserting into the Appendix his worthwhile address to the council, which is composed of 15 veterans organizations in Milwaukee County.

The address follows:

V-J DAY AND OUR FIGHTING MEN IN VIETNAM

(Speech of Hon. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI at the Allied Veterans Council V-J Day Ceremonies, Milwaukee, Wis., Friday, Aug. 13, 1965)

It is indeed a privilege and an honor to have been asked by the Allied Veterans Council of Greater Milwaukee to participate in the events of this evening.

These V-J Day observances, sponsored by the council, have become an important annual event in our community. They have reminded us of the sacrifices which so many made in World War II in order that we might enjoy freedom and prosperity in our great land.

The Allied Veterans' Council is particularly to be commended for having dedicated this evening's program to the American fighting men in Vietnam.

It is entirely fitting as we observe the 20th anniversary of the victory over Japan and the end of World War II, that we pay tribute to those who are fighting and dying to preserve freedom against Communist aggression in southeast Asia.

This occasion also affords an excellent opportunity to make certain meaningful comparisons between World War II and the present conflict in Vietnam.

Many of us recall the protests which accompanied increasing American involvement in World War II before Pearl Harbor. Each attempt by the Roosevelt administration to strengthen the Nation's defenses and assist our traditional Allies in Western Europe was met with criticism. Mother's marches and peace demonstrations were organized in an attempt to dissuade the military buildup which later proved not only necessary but vital to the security interests of our Nation.

In 1939 and 1940 it was fashionable in some quarters to say: "I didn't raise my boy to be a soldier." Others quoted President George Washington's advice about avoiding foreign entanglements.

Who were these peace-at-any-price advocates? For the most part they were well-intentioned, genuinely concerned individuals. They lacked, however, any real appre-

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## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — APPENDIX

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And as one person explained it, neither of the planes on order, the medium-range Boeing 727 three-engine jet or the short-to-medium range Douglas DC-9 two-engine jet, would appear to be the total answer for the region.

The Boeing ship, of course, isn't meant for short-haul operations. And the DC-9, although designed for local service, or regional routes, possibly won't be able to operate effectively out of most of the 22 New England airports now served by Northeast.

Thirteen of these airports have runways shorter than 5,000 feet, the minimum figure being used for the DC-9, and limited passenger yields at such fields would not justify the spending of large sums for runway expansion.

Then, again, the DC-9 ordered by Northeast isn't a "small" jet in any sense, even though it can operate on route segments as short as 100 miles.

It is a plane that will seat up to 115 passengers—and thus hardly suited to the light traffic loads of the so-called intra-New England network. Undoubtedly, however, it will be utilized on some of the more heavily traveled, and longer routes.

If the analysis is correct, where will this leave the rest of New England?

Well for one thing, Northeast has not said that the DC-9, is the complete answer to better New England service.

Furthermore, it seems likely that the carrier has additional aircraft purchases in mind, planes better suited to the majority of the New England communities it serves.

The concern about regional air service is understandable, particularly in the areas north of Boston.

But Northeast has found its financial legs—or should it be wings—in spectacular fashion.

**STRONG FEELING OF OPTIMISM**

And in view of the vitality being shown by its new owners, it isn't surprising to sense a strong feeling of optimism emerging about the future of New England air service.

The New England air market has been permitted to wither. But it is ripe for development, in the opinion of many, and the new look at Northeast may give it its chance for growth.

Obviously, it is in Northeast's interests, as part of its effort to keep the Florida route, to give solid service wherever it operates, whether to Montreal, New York, Miami, Burlington, Bangor or Berlin.

A \$100 million airplane order would appear to be as good a sign as any that Northeast, all but down and out a few short months ago, is making the kind of dramatic comeback that will benefit all the areas it serves, including New England.

PS. A reminder that Northeast is helping the Jimmy Fund, too, by offering three scenic flights out of Logan Airport each Saturday afternoon in August.

Tickets—for contributions of \$5 or more—are available at Northeast ticket offices, or at the airport, on a first come-first serve basis, on Saturdays.

### Federal Government and Arizona: Partners in Crime and Vice

**EXTENSION OF REMARKS**

OF

**HON. PAUL A. FINO**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, today I would like to tell the Members of this

House about the ignorant partnership of the Federal Government and the State of Arizona in keeping gambling illegal in Arizona thus making gambling's lucrative profits available to finance the needs of the crime syndicates.

Last year, the parimutuel turnover in Arizona came to \$22 million. More significant—and more menacing—is Arizona's illegal gambling, which makes Arizona parimutuels look puny. Testimony before the McClellan committee indicated that off-track betting comes to about \$50 billion annually throughout the Nation, with this figure accounting for only some 42 percent of the national annual illegal gambling total, which would thus be \$120 billion. On a population basis, illegal gambling in Arizona would come to about \$1 billion a year. The mob cuts itself 10 percent of the illegal gambling take, which means that Arizona could be an as much as \$100-million desert treasure trove for the syndicates. Government-run gambling would siphon these moneys from mob treasuries, putting gambling revenues to work at public rather than criminal tasks.

The best way to make gambling work for the public good—since it is basically ineradicable—is a national or series of State lotteries. If the State of Arizona would wake up to social and financial reality, it would legalize, regulate, and control gambling so that the gambling urge of the people of Arizona could be made to benefit the people rather than buttress the mob.

**Legislative Reapportionment****EXTENSION OF REMARKS**

OF

**HON. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON**

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the August 16, 1965, issue of the Richmond Times-Dispatch, entitled "Rejiggered Dirksen Amendment."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

**REJIGGERED DIRKSEN AMENDMENT**

Senator DIRKSEN's determination to get through Congress a constitutional amendment modifying the drastic one-man, one-vote ruling the U.S. Supreme Court on legislative reapportionment, is commendable. Whether he can succeed in securing the adoption of this revised version is debatable.

Even if he manages to obtain the necessary two-thirds' majority in the Senate, despite the threatened filibuster by "liberals"—who consider the filibuster an instrument of Beelzebub when used by anybody but themselves—he will have to get a two-thirds' vote in the House. Then three-fourths of the State legislatures will have to ratify.

All this is extremely difficult, given the amount of pressure that has been applied against the Dirksen amendment, especially by civil rights and labor organizations. Mr. DIRKSEN's revised version should take care

of most of the objections, but whether it will or not is uncertain.

DIRKSEN was quoted, after he failed by seven votes to get the required two-thirds in the Senate, as saying:

"Several Members sneaked up on my blind side and said they would like to give me a vote, and that something may develop that they could."

An absolute requirement that there be a reapportionment of both branches of every State legislature every 10 years, to take account of the census, is a feature of the revised Dirksen amendment. It would have to be approved by both branches, and then by the voters of the State in referendum, if one branch were apportioned on any basis other than population.

Senator DIRKSEN stresses the thought in advocating the foregoing that it puts in the hands of the voters of a given State the final decision as to whether the plan should be adopted. It is hard to see how even the "knee-jerk liberals" can find any plausible objection to that—but they probably will.

There is always the possibility that if this method of writing an amendment to curb the one-man, one-vote principle fails, two-thirds of the State legislatures will petition Congress to call a constitutional convention. Such a convention would not be limited, and, as Senator HUGH SCOTT of Pennsylvania puts it, this might really open up a "bucket of eels."

Either 22 or 23 of the required 34 States, including Virginia, have already petitioned for such a constitutional convention, according to a study made by the Library of Congress for Senator A. WILLIS ROBERTSON. Many, including Senator ROBERTSON, doubt, however, if the needed 34 State legislatures will ever sign the petition. The possibility that they might do so was held over the Senate's recent deliberations, in the hope of getting Senate approval for the Dirksen amendment.

But the prospect that a convention called by petition of the States would be wide open, and hence free to rewrite the entire Constitution, may well prevent any such convention from ever being brought together.

So it appears that if the one-man, one-vote principle is to be modified—and it certainly should be—the best hope of action is through the rejiggered Dirksen amendment.

**Academic Freedom****EXTENSION OF REMARKS**

OF

**HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN**

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, in New Jersey many of our leaders have a problem involving the remarks of a professor which many of us feel very distasteful and repugnant to our beliefs and I was impressed by an editorial in the Advocate on academic freedom I thought my colleagues would like to read.

The editorial follows:

[From the Advocate, July 22, 1965]

**ACADEMIC FREEDOM—I**

In our democracy, free and open discussion is essential to assure mature action. Thus administration policy in military matters is enthusiastically supported by some and energetically questioned by others. An instance was the vigorous exception to administration policy in Vietnam taken by a Rutgers professor.



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clation of the menace represented by Nazism, Fascism, and Japanese militarism.

Further, many were deluded by the deliberate efforts of fifth-columnists among our own people. These included the Communists who had teamed up with the Fascists after the Hitler-Stalin pact of 1939.

Today we read of, and see, demonstrations against U.S. participation in the war in Vietnam which are quite similar to those of pre-World War II.

The slogans have been updated, of course. Now they read "Get out of Vietnam," and "Stop the bombing." Critics of the administration's policy have tried to create an atmosphere of defeatism. Some claim that antiguerrilla actions cannot be successful and that Communist-inspired insurgency is bound to win. The facts are, of course, that Communist guerrillas have been defeated in Greece, in the Philippines and in Malaya.

Mistaken as they often are, I believe that most of those who advocate our withdrawal from Vietnam are sincere. They have forgotten, or refuse to remember, the principal lesson taught by World War II. That lesson is that if aggression is left unchecked, the aggressors grow more bold and antagonistic.

Just as the Nazis were guilty of aggression against Poland and Czechoslovakia in 1939, and the Japanese against the Philippines in 1941, so also has North Vietnam been the aggressor against its neighbor to the south.

The Communist regime in Hanoi has directed—in large measure controlled—the activities of the Vietcong guerrillas. The hard core of the Communist forces attacking South Vietnam are men trained in North Vietnam.

These key personnel, many of whom have never seen South Vietnam before, are infiltrated into the Republic of Vietnam to become the leaders and cadres of the Vietcong forces. Fifty thousand such persons have been infiltrated since 1960.

There also is clear proof that Hanoi has supplied the guerrilla forces with weapons, ammunition, and equipment.

In recent days three battalions of regular North Vietnamese troops have been identified in the fighting in the central highlands region of South Vietnam.

Those guerrillas were not the barefoot, pajama-clad, lightly armed peasants we often have seen in newphotos. These men are outfitted in completely military fashion. They wear uniforms helmets and boots. They exhibit military discipline and are organized to engage in unit-sized clashes with government troops.

If the direct role of Hanoi in the Vietnam conflict ever was in question, this infiltration of entire military units should dispel all doubt. Communist China also has played a role in this struggle by aiding and abetting North Vietnam.

Our Nation, as in World War II, is meeting this aggression with force and determination. The United States has sent more than 80,000 American troops to Vietnam and plans to call for 45,000 additional men to be landed there in the near future. The United States has committed our airpower to unceasing bombing of strategic military targets in North Vietnam, as long as the Communist aggression persists.

The United States is spending more than a million dollars a day to supply and equip the forces of South Vietnam, on whom the principal burden of this war rests.

The United States has successfully persuaded many of our allies to assist in this fight for freedom. More than 30 nations have responded by providing aid to South Vietnam, including units of fighting forces.

Our efforts to contain communism in southeast Asia have not been without sacrifice. Several hundred American boys have been killed. Others have been wounded. Undoubtedly there will be still further casualties in the future.

These young men are the flower and the promise of our Nation. We do not wish to see their blood shed on foreign shores. Nor do these brave men wish to die. But they realize, as some other Americans fail to, that the presence of American troops in Vietnam is necessary to the security of our own country.

All of you, I am sure, are aware of the tragic accident which occurred this week at the Titan missile installation in Arkansas. In a very real sense the 53 men who lost their lives in that accident, though civilians, died in the defense of our country.

Those 53 deaths were more than 10 percent of the total number of American soldiers killed in Vietnam since the conflict began. Surely, responsible judgment would not dictate that we discontinue or curtail our missile program because of this or other military accidents.

In the same way, the fact that Americans have been killed in the line of duty in Vietnam should not stampede us into withdrawal. We will continue to place the highest value on each human life. We shall try to insure to the extent possible the safety and security of our troops. But, firm in the belief that our cause is just and right, we must never abandon our efforts simply because casualties occur.

As you know, I have been in Vietnam and have had the opportunity to talk to some of the American soldiers on the scene. Their high morale, their sense of purpose, is truly something to behold.

The service and dedication of these men has been the one continuing bright spot in what all too often has been a dismal picture. Their positive attitude has been a source of inspiration to the Vietnamese with whom they deal, and to our American civilian officials as well.

We can be truly proud of our fighting men in Vietnam, just as we are proud of those who fought to defend freedom and restore peace in World War II, the Korean conflict, and our Nation's other wars.

In my opening remarks I recalled the misguided pacifist efforts that preceded World War II. Now let us speculate what might have happened had our Nation's leaders listened to those voices of appeasement.

Today the Nazis probably would be ruling all of Europe and much of Africa. The Japanese would be the supreme power in Asia, ruling both China and India with an iron hand.

We Americans would be an embattled minority, with probably only Canada and the Nations of Latin America as allies. Fortress America—which many advocated in 1939—would be a weak fortress under siege.

With the benefit of hindsight we can be truly grateful that President Roosevelt and other American leaders saw the danger and were not moved to the disastrous course advocated by the isolationists of the 1930's.

In the same way, I believe that a generation from now the American people will be grateful that President Johnson and his advisers have disregarded the criticism of the neo-isolationists of the 1960's.

For our policy of firmness in the face of aggression has implications which are tremendous and transcend Vietnam.

Many other lands in other under-developed areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America also are threatened with the danger of guerrilla insurgency. The future of these nations is linked with the outcome in South Vietnam and southeast Asia.

The Communists have readily admitted that Vietnam represents an important test situation for insurgency and revolt. For example, the top North Vietnamese general, General Giap, recently said:

"South Vietnam is the model of the national liberation movement of our time—if the special warfare that the U.S. imperial-

ists are testing in Vietnam is overcome, then it can be defeated everywhere in the world."

It is in this sense, then, that South Vietnam represents a real test for our Nation, a challenge perhaps as important as that we met and surmounted in World War II. It is a test of the will and determination of the American people to withstand Communist aggression wherever and however it may appear. We must not, we cannot, we will not, fail the test. For upon the outcome of the struggle in Vietnam hangs the future course of world events. If the United States eventually can bring peace and security to South Vietnam, we will have increased greatly the chances for peace and security elsewhere in the world.

With peace and security, and freedom from internal and external Communist harassment, can come the kind of world which we believed we had won on V-J Day, 1945. Twenty years of conflict and strife have proven how cruelly false were our hope.

Yet, with the hope that sustains humanity, we look to the future. A new generation, epitomized by our fighting men in Vietnam, has joined us in the struggle against tyranny and injustice.

We must not, we cannot, we will not succumb to Communist aggression. For then we would fail to keep faith not only with the brave men who have defended our Nation in past wars, but also with those who are today fighting tyranny and aggression in Vietnam and other trouble spots in the world.

Let us pray that, with Divine Guidance, we may soon reach an era of peace and prosperity, not only for ourselves but for all mankind.

## The Cost of Government—Nothing Is Free

EXTENSION OF REMARKS  
OF

## HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Beaufort, S.C., Gazette for Thursday, August 12, 1965, carried a most perceptive editorial. This editorial, entitled "Nothing Is Free," makes a point which is all too often completely overlooked by both Members of Congress and other individuals in our country in advocating specific pieces of legislation. The point is that the Central Government does not earn income of its own. All the money that it distributes to the States and to the people of the States must come from the people, and before the money can be distributed by the Government, the cost of operating the Government must be deducted.

The American people need to be reminded of this fact more often. I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

## NOTHING IS FREE

"Johnson Signs \$7.5-Billion Omnibus Housing Bill," "Anti-Poverty Bill Enacted," "Medicare Bill Passes," "Income Taxes Reduced," "Operation Head-Start Gets Underway," "Social Security Benefits Increased." Name it and you have probably seen the headlines indicating that Uncle Sam has taken another step to assure the people of America that nothing is too good for them

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and that nothing costs too much to be out of reach.

Looking over the voting records of the past several national elections, most people in America apparently sanction big government's spending and desire more and more of it.

They apparently believe the Government gets its money out of thin air or from some mysterious source that has little to do with themselves.

They should know that the money the Federal Government spends must ultimately come from the people, though all too often it seems this fact is either overlooked or ignored.

About the only reason we can fathom for this type of thinking is the fact that except for income and property levies, most of the taxes we pay are hidden. Everything we buy, from an article so small as a loaf of bread to one so large as an automobile carries a multitude of taxes levied at the raw material, manufacturing, processing, transporting, retailing and other levels. And those taxes, whether we know it or not, must be paid by the consumer.

These facts should be known to everyone, but they tend to become lost in the face of the widespread belief that Government "gives" us things. The truth is that Government can "give" nothing. It can only take the money from the people, now or on some future date, to pay the costs—and also enough must be added to pay the administrative and bureaucratic overhead. These costs alone are frightening.

Remember this truism—nothing material is free—government least of all.

### Adverse Effects of High Rates of Unemployment Compensation

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD H. POFF

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. POFF. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Edward H. Lane, chairman of the board of the Lane Co., Inc., of Altavista, Va., and a distinguished constituent, has asked me to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD statements he made concerning legislation pending before Committee on Ways and Means. Acknowledging his constitutional right to petition the Congress, and with the unanimous consent of the House, I quote the same herewith:

The proposed legislation would provide high rates of unemployment compensation for relatively long periods of time based on relatively short periods of employment. Our area of Virginia has been able to avoid lack of employment opportunity as a contributor to poverty. Our knowledge of employment phenomenon in this area makes it possible to foresee intentional unemployment as a result of such legislation. In this area the legislation would produce an adverse social effect.

Flat costs of employers for unemployment benefits would remove incentives which employers presently have to minimize dismissals for unsatisfactory services. Organized and constant effort in supervisory training to produce the skills and willingness of supervisors to improve performance of their workers has resulted in a minimum turnover for unsatisfactory work. It has created economic producers out of Americans who would otherwise have become charges on the State.

This expensive activity can be justified within the company by reductions in unemployment compensation rates based on experience. Such incentive would be removed by the proposed legislation with the adverse social effects, which would be inevitable.

This legislation proposes to escalate costs significantly. Accompanied by other legislation recently approved and now pending the combined effect is well known to be inflationary. The prospect of more inflation would not be particularly disturbing if it were accompanied by a prospect for increased productivity. Such legislation, however, in general, and H.R. 8282 in particular, would have the effect of decreasing productivity for reasons similar to those above explained. This, then, produces the inflationary effect of increased costs in its most destructive form.

### Power and Water

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. BURKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. BURKE. Mr. Speaker, under the distinguished leadership of the Honorable ROBERT E. JONES, of Alabama, chairman of the House Public Works Committee, that committee has held public hearings on the proposal to construct a \$227 million hydroelectric power project in northern Maine on the Upper St. John River at sites 289 and 300 miles above the mouth of the river.

I believe two editorials which appeared in the Quincy, Mass., Patriot Ledger on July 19, 1965, and on July 22, 1965, are very timely in relation to hydroelectric systems versus nuclear powerplants. I submit the editorials as follow for the edification of the Members of the U.S. Congress:

[From the Quincy (Mass.) Patriot Ledger, July 19, 1965]

#### POWER AND WATER

Does it make any sense for the Federal Government to put a huge, extravagant power project in the wilds of Maine?

Washington seems to think so, as it continues to come up with proposals for hydroelectric projects in northern Maine.

While President Johnson last week expressed concern over the "urgent water problem" in New England, the Government's desire for a hydroelectric plant completely overlooks the possibilities of a New England project that could provide power for the region and add to our water supplies by desalinization of sea water, both through nuclear energy.

The dreamed-of Passamaquoddy Bay tidal power plant—under discussion for four decades—now has been laid to rest for the time being. Even Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall now concedes that the 'Quoddy plan he recommended in 1963 now is no longer economically feasible.

Instead, the Government now proposes a \$227 million hydroelectric power project in northern Maine at the Lincoln School-Dickey site just above the confluence of the St. John and Allagash Rivers. Secretary Udall claims the plan would not flood the Allagash River, thus preserving one of the Nation's few remaining wild river areas, and would provide cheap power for all of New England.

This action is not unexpected. In fact for some time now New England utility in-

terests have suspected that the Government was introducing the 'Quoddy project as a straw man, with the intention of introducing a smaller scaled hydroelectric plant in the Dickey site once the critics had demolished the 'Quoddy proposals.

The latest recommendation is far less ambitious than the billion-dollar 'Quoddy plan. But it is still open to some of the objections raised against 'Quoddy.

In the nuclear age it seems incredible that the Government wants to put a hydroelectric plant so far from New England's population centers. This means, of course, that if New England is to benefit from power generated on the St. John River, transmission lines will have to be strung for hundreds of miles.

This seems obviously uneconomic when the costs of electricity produced by nuclear plants have been dropping steadily and are not far from being cheaper than conventionally produced power. And nuclear powerplants have proven to be safe enough for location near centers of population.

For example, Commonwealth Edison Co. in Chicago is now building the Nation's largest atomic power station. The 700,000-kilowatt unit is estimated to cost \$76 million. Compare that with the Government's St. John River proposal of a 794,000-kilowatt unit costing \$227 million.

The new nuclear plant is expected to generate and deliver power to the Chicago area at a cost of 5 to 10 percent lower than Commonwealth Edison's new conventional units under construction.

Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, has predicted that large nuclear powerplants (more than 500,000 kilowatts) probably will be able to produce electricity costing about 4 to 5 mills per kilowatt-hour and lower. Secretary Udall says power from the St. John River project could be delivered to preference customers in Maine for 7 to 8 mills per kilowatt hour. What the cost would be to other New England customers, for instance in Boston, is unclear.

But at any rate, by the time the St. John River project could be completed it might be utterly obsolete because of advances in nuclear power technology.

Also to be considered is the possibility of a dual-purpose atomic plant, producing power and purifying sea water for consumption.

Dr. Seaborg, in a copyrighted interview in U.S. News & World Report, says: "We are particularly interested in the so-called dual-purpose reactors—that is, reactors that produce electricity and at the same time use the waste heat, which would otherwise be dissipated, to desalt water. \* \* \* By the 1980's we expect that there will be huge dual-purpose reactors \* \* \* reactors that would be developing a thousand megawatts—that is, a million kilowatts—of electricity, or more, and perhaps desalting water to the extent of 500 million gallons a day."

Such a plant would be ideal for New England, of course, which is waking up to the fact that its water supplies are inadequate.

The Government's interest in a big, public hydroelectric project down east seems to make less and less sense when viewed against the potentialities of nuclear power. While the Government has cited the benefits of low-cost power as a boon to New England industry and as a way of stimulating the economy of depressed northern Maine, unfortunately it has not shown the same solicitude for New England by continuing unreasonable quotas on imports of residual fuel oil which force power companies to pay more for this fuel used in generating electricity.

Instead of concentrating its studies on Maine rivers and bays, the Government should turn its attention to what nuclear power could do for the region.



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[From the Quincy (Mass.) Patriot Ledger,  
July 22, 1965]

## A BOLD PLAN

New York State is taking a bold step forward in ordering the construction of a triple-purpose nuclear plant on Long Island.

The primary function of the plant will be to desalt water. But it will also produce power and high-energy radioactive isotopes. The plant, expecting to cost about \$4.25 million, will be located on the northern prong of eastern Long Island, between Riverhead and Mattituck.

Scheduled to go into operation in 1968, the plant would be the Nation's first nuclear-powered desalinization facility, and the first triple-purpose nuclear plant.

The high-energy radioactive isotopes will be sold for industrial and medical uses, and along with the sale of water and electricity is expected to pay for the construction and operating costs of the plant. The manufacture of isotopes, in this case a byproduct of the other uses of the Long Island plant, occupies an important place in the Nation's economy and will become increasingly important as more uses and more users of these atomic byproducts develop.

New York hopes to sell fresh water from the project to the Riverhead Water District at an astounding/low price for desalted water. The prices are expected to be 35 cents a thousand gallons the first year, increasing to 45 cents per thousand gallons in the 11th year.

If this turns out to be the price, the plant would represent a major breakthrough in the attempt to make desalting economical. Only little more than a decade ago, in 1952, the cost of converting sea water varied from \$4 to \$5 a thousand gallons. Now the cost is estimated at about \$1 to \$1.25, based on operations of two demonstration plants at San Diego, Calif., and Freeport, Tex., each designed to turn out a million gallons of fresh water a day—the same as the Long Island plant.

The Riverhead plant would be a small operation, producing only about 2,500 kilowatts of electricity in addition to the fresh water through a form of distillation. U.S. Government officials in the Department of the Interior and the Atomic Energy Commission foresee large-scale nuclear-powered projects, producing as much as 500 million gallons of fresh water a day and with a power capacity of a million kilowatts. With the development of giant multipurpose nuclear plants, it is felt, will come lower production costs for both sea water conversion and power generation.

While New York undertakes its pioneering effort, the U.S. Government seems to be back in the middle ages of power generation with its plans to construct large-scale public hydroelectric plants in northern Maine. As we commented earlier this week, the most recent plan from Washington to build a \$227 million hydroelectric project on the St. John River in Maine totally ignores the prospects for dual-purpose nuclear-powered facilities.

Instead of going ahead with its St. John River proposal, the Government should instead study the potentialities of nuclear power for New England. New York is showing the way.

## National Drum Corps Week

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, August 15-22 is National Drum Corps Week. The drum

corps movement is a crisp example of how purposefully today's youth can occupy themselves.

Not only is drum corps activity beneficially disciplinary to participating youth, but it can be said that the colorful blade of the martial musical pageantry is representative of an emerging new art form. Drum corps activity is thus productive in many ways, and those participating in it are to be commended.

Drum corps activity has grown in scope so that a million or so teenagers are involved in its activities. There are an increasing number of pageants and drum corps championships these days. In 1963, there was, for the first time, a world open championship for drum corps. We can proudly say that as an art form, a discipline and as a sport, drum corps activity is rapidly growing throughout the United States.

*Te. Ed. Dole*  
Did We Bomb Our Own Prisoners?

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT DOLE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, since the July 27 raid by U.S. planes, supposedly against two SAM sites near Hanoi, we have had nothing but conflicting information out of the administration about what really happened. We have heard that our planes hit decoy sites set up to lure them off the real targets. We have heard that they not only missed the sites entirely but bombed barracks in the area housing prisoners of war.

Now, United Features Syndicate Columnist Don Maclean reports that some of our own men—captives of the North Vietnamese—may have been killed by American bombs on that raid.

I think it is high time that President Johnson set the record straight for the American people—not only on what happened on that missile site raid but on what is really going on in Vietnam.

Under unanimous consent I insert the Maclean column in the Record and commend its reading to the Members of this body.

The text of the column follows:

QUESTIONS AFTER MISSILE RAID: DID WE BOMB  
OUR OWN PRISONERS?

(By Don Maclean)

Some of our own men—captives of the North Vietnamese—may have been killed by American bombs in the recent controversial raid on the SAM missile sites near Hanoi.

This, according to one source, is what the Defense Department has been hoping to cover up while discussing the July 27 attack.

Since the bombing, there has been much speculation in the press, leading to a recent secret briefing of certain Congressmen by Pentagon officers. First inkling that we may have bombed American and South Vietnamese held as prisoners of war, came during a question and answer period during this briefing.

## POSSIBILITY

The Pentagon officers reportedly admitted only that it was a possibility since a number of barracks close to the Hanoi missile base were destroyed.

Asked about this development, a Congressman on the House Armed Services Committee said that he has been asked by the Pentagon to say nothing about the briefing or the possibility that we accidentally may have bombed our men in the hands of the North Vietnamese.

Military experts hold that it is unlikely that prisoners would be kept near missile bases for security reasons. (Prisoners might escape and cause damage.) However, there is the theory that for an unscrupulous enemy, surrounding a missile base with prisoners might be an ideal way to protect it from air attack. Our reluctance to bomb North Vietnamese missile sites for fear of killing Soviet technicians is well known.

## OUR HEAVY LOSS

If true, this latest allegation would compound the already tragic aspects of this particular bombing raid. During the mission, three of our bombers were brought down by groundfire; two F-105's collided in midair on the way home; another plane is missing.

The principal target may not have been hit at all. The Defense Department says that photo reconnaissance has not been sufficient to show whether we damaged the missile sites. Also, the Pentagon has refused to confirm whether our planes bombed dummy sites, meant to draw attack away from the real ones.

## The Real Alabama—Part XLVI

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, in our State we place higher education far up on the list of priorities for continuing advancement. The people of Alabama have long felt the importance of providing quality higher education for its young people.

One of our higher education institutions of which we are proud is Mobile College, one of the State's newest, and growing facilities.

Following are some items of interest about Mobile College:

## ABOUT MOBILE COLLEGE

Mobile College is a Christian college of liberal arts and sciences. Chartered in 1961, it is the first senior college to be established in the State of Alabama during the last 57 years and is sponsored by the Alabama Baptist State Convention.

Mobile College is a new venture in higher learning and is the creation of a people of Christian vision.

The beautiful 400-acre campus is located about 10 miles from downtown Mobile on College Parkway. The campus site is being developed and four buildings have been completed. The administrative-classroom building was completed in 1963 and houses the administrative and faculty offices, the classrooms, the science laboratories, the center for programmed instruction, the library, a teaching auditorium, the bookstore, and a snack shop. These handsome facilities make possible many innovations in the learning program of the college.

Dormitories for men and women and a student lounge and dining hall were completed in September 1964. The two dormitories and the one-story student lounge and dining hall are connected with covered walkways. All of the facilities are air conditioned. Both dormitories have double rooms with adjoining baths.

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Mobile College is Christian in its design and perspective. It wants its students to find maximum understanding of the reality of God and the Christian way of life.

Mobile College is composed of three divisions and one department: the division of humanities, the division of natural science, the division of social science, and the department of health, physical education, and recreation.

The college offers the bachelor of arts degree in the following areas: art, economics and business administration, English, history, modern foreign languages (including French, German, and Spanish), music, philosophy, political science, psychology, religion, speech and dramatic arts, sociology and anthropology, and health, physical education, and recreation. Mobile College offers the bachelor of science degree in the following areas: biology, chemistry, mathematics, and physics.

The preparation of elementary and secondary schoolteachers is a major function of the college, and an attractive program of professional education has been planned for prospective teachers.

The college makes available preprofessional programs in medicine, dentistry, engineering, medical technology, nursing, law, and the ministry.

### The Memory of the Late Gracie Pfost

SPEECH  
OF

HON. D. R. (BILLY) MATTHEWS  
OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 12, 1965

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues in expressing sadness because of the passing of our former colleague, the Honorable Gracie Pfost, of Idaho. Mrs. Pfost and I came to Congress during the same year, and I esteemed her most highly. She was faithful to her constituents, hard working, and loyal to her friends. I participated in the funeral services here in Washington, and should like to print here in the RECORD the opening prayer that I gave on that occasion:

O Lord our God, how excellent is Thy name in all the earth, who hast set Thy glory above the heavens. In Thee do we put our trust, for God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish but have everlasting life.

We thank Thee for the life of our silent friend and colleague. Because of her, many lives have been fortified with hope and faith. Because of her, America, our fatherland, is a more beautiful temple of groves and streams.

She has been blessed by the privilege of great service.

Abide, O God, with her loved ones, her friends, and all for whom she labored so valiantly.

With joy into Thy loving hands we commend her this day, with the blessed assurance that in our Father's house are many mansions and He has promised to be with us forever.

Hear our prayer in the name of Thy Son, our Lord. Amen.

I express to her family my deepest sympathy, and I join Gracie Pfost's many friends in saying that our lives have been ennobled because of our associations with her.

### Progress of the Negro Lawyer Under President Johnson

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent, I am extending my remarks to include the report of the Committee on Judiciary of the National Bar Association as given by its chairman, Edward B. Toles, eminent Chicago attorney, at the 40th Annual Convention at New Orleans.

The report follows:

THE NEGRO LAWYER, A SECOND RECONSTRUCTION—TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS

(By Edward B. Toles)

Since the last annual report of the Judiciary Committee, August 19, 1964, "The Negro Lawyer in Crisis," the contributions of President Lyndon B. Johnson to the professional advancement of Negro lawyers have made tremendous progress in the fulfillment of rights previously denied Negro citizens and Negro lawyers.

No Chief Executive in the history of the Presidency has taken a stronger stand for human equality regardless of races and peoples than has President Johnson. In the matter of Federal appointments to Negro lawyers, this past year, since our 39th annual convention at Baltimore, was without precedent in American history.

Notably prominent were these Presidential appointments: First Negro U.S. Solicitor General; two Negro U.S. district court judges for the District of Columbia; first Negro district court judge to the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia; first Negro Associate Counsel to the President on the White House Staff; a Negro legal assistant on the White House Staff in charge of personnel; first Negro Woman Ambassador to a foreign state and country; first Negro member of a National Crime Commission; first Negro woman member and vice chairman of the District of Columbia Crime Commission; a Negro judge of the Juvenile Court of the District of Columbia; a Negro lawyer member of the two Negro members of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission; a Negro Executive Director of the President's Council on Equal Opportunity; a general counsel of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and legal staff members of other Federal agencies.

Negro lawyers may well expect shortly more judicial and administrative appointments. The President in a ringing declaration against prejudice and discrimination at Howard University's Commencement, June 4, 1965, said:

"Freedom is the right to share, share fully and equally in American society, to vote, to hold a job, to enter a public place, to go to school. It is the right to be treated in every part of our national life as a person equal in dignity and promise to all others. But freedom is not enough \* \* \*. We seek not just freedom but opportunity. We seek not just legal equity but human ability. Not just equality as a right and a theory but equality as a fact and equality as a result."

The President further pledged "to help the American Negro fulfill these rights which after the long time of injustice he is finally about to secure, to move beyond opportunity to achievement, to shatter forever not only the barriers of law and public practice but the walls which bound the condition of man by the color of his skin." The Presi-

dent stated that this would "be a chief goal of his Administration and of his program next year and in the years to come."

Even while the Nation is preoccupied with critical war disturbances abroad, the President solemnly reiterated his pledge to the Negro and at his July 28 press conference on Vietnam in his momentous address to the Nation intoned these blunt, direct and eloquent words:

"Now, I am President. It is my opportunity to help every child get an education, to help every Negro and every American citizen have an equal opportunity, to help every family get a decent home, and to help bring healing to the sick and dignity to the old."

To date, the President has originated under his own administration, major appointments to Negro lawyers never before dreamed of by them as being remotely possible. Some of these new legal positions are the following held for the first time by Negro lawyers:

Judge Thurgood Marshall, U.S. Solicitor General; presently judge of U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, 2d Circuit (appointed September 23, 1961; recess appointment, October 5, 1961; Senate confirmation, September 14, 1962). On July 13, 1965, President Johnson nominated Judge Marshall to be U.S. Solicitor General. Because of the importance of this appointment and the significance to Negro lawyers, your committee has selected comments from the press concerning the appointment and approval by a Senate judiciary subcommittee on July 29, just 16 days after nomination by the President. The Senate must give final confirmation and usually follows committee recommendations.

The Chicago Tribune, July 29, stated:

"A Senate judiciary subcommittee heard 20 minutes of testimony by Thurgood Marshall today and unanimously recommended approval of his nomination to be the Nation's Solicitor General. Subcommittee Chairman QUENTIN N. BURDICK, Democrat, of North Dakota, and Senator JACOB K. JAVITS, Republican, of New York, were the only members present. Marshall, a Federal circuit judge since 1962, told the Senators that if confirmed he will represent for Government fairly and impartially in arguing cases before the Supreme Court. Taking note of Marshall's 23 years as attorney for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, JAVITS asked the Negro judge if he would have any difficulty in advocating the Government position in civil rights cases, whatever it happens to be. 'No, not in the least,' Marshall replied."

Newsweek, July 26, 1965, said:

"Barred as a Negro from Maryland University Law School, Marshall took his degree with top honors at Washington's Howard University and in 1935, on behalf of another Negro persuaded a court to scuttle Maryland University's hly-white admissions policy. From 1936 on, as top lawyer for the NAACP, Marshall won countless civil rights cases, including 29 of 32 argued before the U.S. Supreme Court, and a reputation that President Kennedy acknowledged by appointing him a Federal judge in 1961. Last week President Johnson took note of Marshall's prowess and named him Solicitor General—the man who represents the United States before the Supreme Court. Judge Marshall will succeed professorial Archibald Cox, who is resigning to return to the Harvard University faculty after serving 4 years in the post, third-ranking in the Department of Justice. Marshall, 57, is the first Negro to be appointed to Justice's top echelon. To accept the new post, Marshall will resign his lifetime appointment to the Federal appeals bench in New York—and take a \$4,500 a year salary cut, from \$33,000 to \$28,500. His acceptance of a salary cut and his willingness to relinquish life tenure for a job of uncertain duration generated understandable puzzlement. Marshall himself admitted the choice was a



August 17, 1965

Nos. 7 and 28 is being moved about a mile south of its present location.

This involves building one and three-tenths miles of new highway, and the jobs should be done by this fall. It is to be hoped that the State road commission will also repave the remaining 4 or 5 miles of the road to Cass.

The ARA grant of \$576,000 was finally approved, and State parks officials say that bids on the railroad work will be received August 17. It is probable, however, that no major work will be done until next spring.

What will be done with the ARA grant? First, the Cass Scenic Railroad will be extended 4 miles, to the top of Bald Knob, or nearly so. This will make the ride twice as long as at present, although there will still be a stop at Whittaker, the place on the mountain where the run now ends.

The section of railroad that now exists will be improved. Railroad shops on the line near Cass will be renovated and probably opened for tourist inspection. These shops, which have complete tools and facilities for steam locomotive repair, are curiosities in themselves, with particular appeal to railroad enthusiasts.

At the end of the line atop Bald Knob, hiking trails will be prepared through a beautiful spruce forest, and an overlook will be constructed. The panorama from this overlook, which I have seen, is destined to become known as a beauty sport of the East.

At the present terminus, a plateau on the side of the mountain, about 40 acres of land will be acquired by the State, if all goes well. At present, riders of the Cass Scenic Railroad disembark and may, if they wish, frolic or picnic on and around part of a 12-mile, 60-foot right-of-way now owned by the State. There will be toilets and picnic areas at the top of Bald Knob and also at the lower stop.

Ultimately, Cass enthusiasts dream of a lodge, ski trails and other frills near the summit of Bald Knob, but the half-million dollars available from ARA at this time won't cover that.

Down in the valley at the present time, there have been many pleasant improvements since the summer of 1963. Several privately owned and operated establishments have sprung up to cater to the more obvious needs of railroad patrons.

You no longer have to travel 40 miles for a hot meal. J. M. Kane, Jr., a Cass merchant, has renovated a C. & O. dining car and named it the Shay Inn. Air conditioned and attractively furnished, the Shay Inn is an example of creative thinking, an operation which fits in perfectly with its setting.

You may also get something to eat at the Cass Country Kitchen, the restaurant section of the Cass Country Store, a huge, restyled lumber-company store building which also houses a soda fountain, benches for the weary, restrooms, and many souvenir stands.

The Cass Country Store complex is, like the Shay Inn, a privately owned development catering to patrons of the State-owned railroad. It is thoughtfully and tastefully painted, decorated, lighted, and arranged.

W. E. Blackhurst's Wildlife Museum, one of the first private-enterprise developments at Cass, is still going strong, and Blackhurst has now mounted about 300 animals for your inspection.

A Civil War Museum, opened last year by Mr. and Mrs. Kyle Neighbor, is near the Blackhurst taxidermy exhibit. It features "penwritten" records, letters and grants a century old, including Civil War payrolls. There are many weapons of the Lincoln era, and other bric-a-brac not closely connected with the Civil War, such as a genuine West Virginia moonshine still.

There are no overnight accommodations in Cass, and Van's Motel, about 10 miles distant, yet affords the nearest lodging. But 6 miles north of Boyer is a new motel, the Hermit-

age, at Bartow. Opened only this April, the Hermitage (not to be confused with another inn of the same name at Petersburg, in Grant County) offers 8 single rooms and 12 doubles and the only modern restaurant in the area.

Around Marlinton, about 40 miles away, are several new, modern, motels. Or, those who plan to visit Cass might consider staying overnight in or near Elkins, which has many motels and hotels to fit all budgets. I have found the trip from Elkins to Bartow, and thence to Cass, a fast, pleasant, scenic drive, leaving U.S. 219 at Huttonsville and taking U.S. 250 through the hills until it intersects West Virginia 28 between Thornwood and Boyer.

Suicide Cave, or Cass Cave, a spectacular cavern with an internal waterfall 100 feet high, has not yet been opened to the public. No work, in fact, appears to have been done on this natural tourist attraction, although private capital is said to be interested. One of the landowners, according to rumors around Cass, is being difficult.

On the railroad itself, there are now three Shay engines in operating condition. And the bullhorn that Train Guide W. E. Blackhurst formerly used has been replaced by a more efficient loudspeaker system. It would be a good idea for arrangements to be made to protect train passengers from sudden summer showers. You might carry a raincoat, just in case.

And bring along a sweater or light coat. The summer sun is hot at Cass, but the air can get cool during mornings and evenings.

A free word of advice to the department of natural resources, or anyone else at Cass: Put up highway signs giving the location of the Cass Scenic Railroad, and how to get there. Make these signs big, make them explicit, and place them on all major highway approaches.

If you are running a business that depends upon highway trade, it is wise to assume that all tourists have poor eyesight, no memories, and don't read English well. You'll be wrong, of course, but it's better to be theoretically poor and practically right than the other way around.

### Communist Rumania's Discrimination Against Hungarians in Transylvania

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, in a day when Americans are becoming more and more concerned with discrimination in our own country, we cannot afford to ignore prejudice against minority groups in other parts of the world.

Since the end of World War II, the Rumanian Communist Government has been following a policy of systematic repression of the rights of its Hungarian minority in Transylvania. The 1952 Rumanian constitution provides for the free development of minority cultures and languages, including provisions for the free establishment of churches and schools. However, these provisions have not been carried out. The International Commission of Jurists has reported that the policies now in effect would eradicate the Hungarian minority as a recognizable unit in the next 10 or 15 years. The large-scale Hungarian educational sys-

tem has been destroyed and the educated element of the population dispersed throughout the country. Centuries-old Hungarian libraries and castles have been destroyed. Religious freedom has been denied to the Catholic churches which provide for the religious needs of the minority. In addition, only 50 percent of those imprisoned during the Hungarian uprising in 1956 have been released.

Such a denial of rights and freedoms basic to all individuals must be protested by those who believe in the inherent worth of each man to a private life free from invasion from the public sector. At a time when a serious reevaluation is being made of our relationship with the Rumanian Government, it is necessary to explore all aspects of that country's relationships with its people and the world. Therefore, I join with the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. HALPERN] and my other distinguished colleagues from both sides of the aisle in urging that hearings be held soon on H.R. 289 and subsequent legislation condemning the discrimination of the Rumanian Government against its Hungarian minority.

*Fe (un) Keith*  
**The U.S. Position in Vietnam Should Not  
Be an Issue at the Disarmament Conference**

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, the recent reopening of the disarmament conference at Geneva has been seriously hampered by the efforts of the Soviet Union to make the United States withdrawal from Vietnam a major condition for further consideration of disarmament. Not only are these conditions proposed by the Soviet Union based on an inaccurate view of U.S. foreign policy, they are totally irrelevant to the issue at hand—the prohibition of the spread of nuclear weapons.

In this connection, Mr. Speaker, I would like to call attention to a fine editorial which appeared in the August 11 issue of the Standard-Times of New Bedford, Mass. This editorial points out the fallacies in the Soviet Union's arguments and extends the hope that its delegation will forgo anti-U.S. propaganda and, instead, attempt to resolve the problem of nuclear proliferation.

The item follows:

#### THE OBSTRUCTING SOVIET

If the price demanded by the Soviet Union to prohibit the spread of nuclear weapons represents the Kremlin's final word, the disarmament conference at Geneva is not likely to be fruitful.

In exchange for an agreement, Semyon Tsarapkin, head of the Soviet delegation, has called for termination of the Vietnamese war, withdrawal of all American troops and the dismantling of U.S. bases in foreign countries.

Black people sadly recognize that these leaders and organizations represent no honest power, no ability to revolutionize their conditions or change their plight. And like Rosa Parks back in 1957, they have now reached the point of no return in weariness—wary of broken promises, weary of phony black leadership, weary of white do-nothingness and weary of blind exclusion from the mainstream of American society. Three years ago, we witnessed the "Negro revolt." We are now seeing the "revolt of the poor."

In Los Angeles, the incinerating fuel for last week's explosion had been smoldering for years—police brutality. The arrogance of Police Chief Parker in refusing to heed the pleas of responsible Negro leadership steadily worsened the situation. More recently, the refusal of the mayor to evolve a comprehensive antipoverty program to siphon off many of that community's unemployed further was regarded as a kick in the stomach by many Negroes.

A week ago, a subcommittee of the House Education and Labor Committee held hearings in the middle of the Watts area. According to a report to me from the Chief Counsel for the ad hoc subcommittee on the war on poverty, "Because of the fact that Los Angeles is one of the two major cities in the country without a poverty program, this area was one of obvious unrest." Subsequently, I personally received several angry letters from Los Angeles Negroes who were deeply disturbed about the runaround they were getting.

Los Angeles also has a continuing problem in Police Chief Parker who has become a symbol of racial oppression to Negroes just as School Superintendent Willis of Chicago has become the identical symbol there. Before fruitful communications can be established between the races in these cities and other cities, the symbols of racial persecution must be removed.

Parker in Los Angeles must go. Willis in Chicago must go. Their retention will only exacerbate an already dangerous racial crisis in these two cities.

Finally, there must be an acceptance—no matter how uncomfortable—of the ugly realities of race relations in the North and the limitations of recent civil rights legislation to deal with such realities. I made the following statement in September, 1964, after the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, I repeated it several times publicly and I make it again today after the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965: "Such legislation is absolutely of no value or meaning to Negroes in the North."

These acts have opened no new doors for Negroes in Los Angeles, Chicago, New York, or Philadelphia, nor have these acts provided any remedies for de facto school segregation, police brutality, increasing joblessness among Negroes, segregated housing, inferior education, political tokenism and Jim Crow justice in our courts.

Negroes in the North know the truth of these statements and are embittered by the absence of official action directed toward a solution of these problems. Until a comprehensive and massive attack on northern sub rosa racial hatred

is undertaken, until all of us force ourselves to come to grips with the fact that the poverty of the northern Negro is totally different from the poverty of the southern Negro and in some respects even worse, Los Angeles is only the beginning of a long series of rioting and lawlessness not only this summer but in the many summers to come.

### What's New at Cass?

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. ROBERT C. BYRD

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, the development of attractive tourist facilities in the vicinity of the Cass Scenic Railroad, in Pocahontas County, W. Va., has given a big impetus to the unique project.

With the Labor Day weekend approaching, those persons desiring a really delightful holiday might wish to take the pleasant trip to Cass and explore the attractions there.

A detailed discussion of the manner in which this project has successfully developed was given in the August 1, 1965, Sunday Gazette-Mail State Magazine, Charleston, W. Va. I ask unanimous consent to have this article placed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### WHAT'S NEW AT CASS?

(By William C. Blizzard)

State's largest tourist spot finally getting some necessary improvements and there are more on the board as soon as money is available.

On June 15, 1963, tourists traveling the Cass Scenic Railroad on its first public run discovered a pleasant fact: As advertised, the Shay locomotive pulling the cars was a genuine antique.

But Cass visitors also discovered an unpleasant fact: Tourist accommodations at Cass were just as antique as the 1880-model Shay. The only way you could get a hot meal was to bring your own food and roast it in the locomotive firebox.

Local church women helped out mightily with pies, cakes, and sandwiches, but demand often outstripped supply and the unhappy tourist was left with nothing more nourishing than food for thought.

In Cass, toilet facilities of the manmade variety were limited to those at the end of the run and in the old C. & O. depot.

If you wished to wash away the soot and cinders accumulated during the 2-hour train ride, there was plenty of running water—no washrooms, just running water. You had a choice of Leatherbark Creek or the Greenbrier River.

The nearest motel or hotel accommodations were 10 miles away at the hamlet of Boyer (pronounced "Bowyer"). Lodging could be had there at Van's Motel, but the eight rooms at Van's were likely to be filled, and the little motel boasted no dining room or lunch counter. The nearest place where you could buy a hot meal, in fact was at Marlinton, about 40 miles away.

The net result of these several inconveniences was that visitors motoring home after

a long, hot day at Cass were nearly always sunburned, sooty, cinder-covered, hungry, irritable, thirsty and dog-tired.

The fact that 5,354 paying customers nevertheless rode the Cass Scenic Railroad during the first 5 weeks of operation in 1963 is a glowing tribute to the hardihood of the American tourist and the fanaticism of the railroad buff.

There has been a steady advance in railroad patronage, by the way, since the Shays began puffing in their new role at Cass. Paid fares for 1965 show more than 18 percent increase over a comparable period in 1964.

Early adverse conditions at Cass were in part due to the desire of Pocahontas County citizens and the department of natural resources (which owns the railroad, effects associated with it, and contiguous land) to get the scenic railroad started during the West Virginia centennial year. That goal was accomplished, but at a price: In the spring of 1963, Cass' hair wasn't combined, its shoelaces weren't tied, and its somewhat sooty shirttail was hanging out.

Tribulations at Cass were intimately associated with lack of funds, although opposition to Cass development by the Department of Natural Resources also slowed progress on what is now a major West Virginia tourist attraction.

Operating a railroad on a shoestring led to some maddening incidents which were very nearly catastrophes. For instance, a Washington, D.C., newspaper sent in a writer who gave ample and favorable coverage to Cass, and his story prompted many Washingtonians to make the long drive to southern West Virginia. This was well and good, until a locomotive axle broke at the time of their visit.

The accident injured no one, but it did put the railroad out of business until a new axle was located, which took no short search (a lucky find made the search shorter). Probably more important than the temporary halt in operations was the adverse impression made upon the long-suffering visitors from the Nation's Capital.

It appears that at long last the lean days at Cass are about over, and residents of the old mill town doubtless feel that it's none too soon. It took 3 years from the time the scenic railroad idea was hatched by the Cass Planning Committee until the first passengers were hauled. And, before the track gets laid and earth gets moved, it will have taken more than 2 years for Federal Area Redevelopment Administration funds to be put to work at Cass.

Two years ago, the ARA was thinking of granting the Cass Scenic Railroad over half a million dollars to extend the rails to the top of Bald Knob (elevation, 4,852 feet), and improve existing facilities. But the grant was delayed by protests from the National Radio Astronomy Observatory at nearby Green Bank.

The scientists with the big metal ears had built a listening post to the universe at Green Bank because the area was as quiet as a moon crater at midnight.

"No, indeed," said they, "we don't want noisy trains and noisy people with their noisy automobiles. It'll ruin our reception."

The observatory officials said it might be all right to keep the Cass Scenic Railroad, but the access road would have to be relocated. The access road happens to be West Virginia 28, a primary highway.

The State road commission screamed about that. "Can't do it," said Burl Sawyers. "It would cost millions."

There was a deadlock which was finally broken by Sawyer's suggestion that part of West Virginia No. 7, not West Virginia No. 28, be relocated. West Virginia No. 7 is a secondary road that connects West Virginia No. 28 with Cass, about 6 miles distant. The suggestion was accepted by Federal authorities, and the intersection of West Virginia

Mr. Tsarapkin has insisted the Geneva meeting must give priority to the withdrawal of foreign troops and bases, and "cannot bypass the actions of the United States in Vietnam."

Apart from the fact the Russian attacks on U.S. foreign policy are distortions, as usual, an even more important factor is that they are not germane to these important meetings.

Mr. Tsarapkin ignores the truth, of course. The North Vietnamese persistently have refused to negotiate despite numerous efforts by the United States to open discussions. Most recently, Hanoi was reported to have turned down President Johnson's suggestion that the United Nations might assist in promoting a cease-fire and subsequent talks by the principals.

Under these circumstances, the United States has no choice but to help defend South Vietnam, while continuing to seek peace. Even in so doing, Mr. Johnson reemphasized that the American mission "is to help a small nation remain independent and free of aggression" and that those who advocate all-out war are insensitive to the U.S. role in southeast Asia.

But it is irresponsible of the Russians, and dangerously so, to burden these most delicate discussions aimed at saving the world from nuclear catastrophe with unrelated differences. If the Communists want to discuss Vietnam—although they, not we, have so far refused—let it be done at a conference for that purpose. The same goes for the matter of foreign troops and bases.

As serious as these matters may be, they do not begin to compare with the problem of the spreading nuclear weapon.

It is the responsibility of the Soviet Union, and of every other nation participating in the Geneva meetings, in order to get the negotiations back on the track, to return to the purpose of trying for an agreement to insure the nondissemination and nonproliferation of the nuclear military capability.

Surely the U.S.S.R., purely in its own interests, must recognize the growing urgency of the proliferation problem. Now Sukarno, never known either for political morality or responsibility, is boasting he will explode a nuclear device (undoubtedly facilitated by our gift to him of a reactor) within a matter of months.

It is to be hoped that Mr. Tsarapkin, having fulfilled his routine propaganda commitment, will return to the No. 1 item on the agenda, as determined as is the United States to see that no additional nations develop nuclear arsenals. It is not an impossible task nor is it inextricably related to the war in Vietnam.

### The Independence Day of Gabon

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. PAUL H. TODD, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. TODD. Mr. Speaker, today marks the anniversary of the independence of the state of Gabon.

This country is known to many Americans as being the site of the extremely humanitarian work of Dr. Albert Schweitzer. However, the country's development in recent years has been impressive. For example, its per capita gross national production is over \$250, one of the highest in Africa. Its

relations with France, the United States, and the countries of the European Economic Community have been good and it has pursued a responsible posture in its foreign policy.

Mr. Speaker, I think it appropriate that we honor this day of independence.

### Malaysia: A Divorce Within the Pacific Community

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, divorce is always tragic, and it is especially so when it involves 10½ millions of people. A week ago Monday, on August 9, the marriage of Singapore to the other states of the Federation of Malaysia came to a close only 1 month short of its second anniversary, thus ending what the matchmaker, Great Britain, could have easily termed a marriage of necessity. In retrospect, the match was conceived by the British Government on October 3, 1961, as a means of bolstering the Malaysian countries against Communist aggression and in order to couple the industrious, entrepreneurial abilities of the Singapore Chinese with the material but undeveloped wealth of Sabah, Sarawak, and the Malaya Federation. As this week's Economist reminds us in its lead article:

Malaysia was devised as a solution to several specific problems. The basic one was that, as the 1960's opened, Singapore was clearly on the way to independence. In 1961 this began to look as if it would mean giving independence to a government of Chinese race and Communist orientation. The Malaysians happened to have achieved independence a few years before after a decade spent in fighting Communists of Chinese race. The British happened to have a whopping great base, which they wanted to keep, in the island that a pro-Communist government might thus control.

The wedding took place on September 16, 1963, amid overwhelming applause from throughout the Pacific community of free nations. The United States, especially, lauded the move and encouraged American companies to invest in the new country, although politically we remained in the background.

Each of the partners had something to contribute and much to gain from the marriage. The State of Singapore had the well-known port of Singapore with its large industrial center. Its people, a population which is 75 percent Chinese, were endowed with advanced industrial and entrepreneurial abilities along with large capital holdings. On their small island, however, they lacked the basic resources and raw materials to supply potential industries. Here, Malaya, Sarawak and Sabah—rich with these very items—came into the picture. Malaya alone is the largest supplier of iron ore

in Asia and a leading producer of tin. Furthermore, all three states produce great quantities of rubber, pineapples and wood. At best these commodities represented only a small part of Malaysia's potential production and export capacity. They needed only the capital and the entrepreneurial talents of the Singapore businessmen to develop their potential.

After the wedding, construction boomed and commercial activity grew apace. Economically, the combination went hand in glove. Interstate ties were created, and a common market planned with the hearty endorsement of the World Bank.

But, as in many marriages, under the facade of prosperous togetherness, lay the ever-troublesome problem of who should hold the reins in the family. On this point, the governments of Malaya and Singapore could not agree, reflecting the long-known struggle between the Malays on the one hand and the overseas Chinese community on the other. Unfortunately, the Federation, based on a remarkably democratic constitution, fell prey to this struggle which had grown to uncontrollable proportions. The British recognized the situation as a problem which could defeat the Federation, but were no longer in a strong enough bargaining position to do anything about it. And thus, the Federation plummeted down the sad road of failure—failure to bring together a meeting of the minds, failure to compromise. The failure came purely from within. If blame must be placed, it must rest squarely on the shoulders of the Malaysians themselves—not the British and least of all the United States. In the final analysis, the marriage failed because of a political problem which is seemingly insoluble at this time. The economist commented tersely but accurately, I think, "not that disaster was inevitable. Malaysia was a rational idea, which might well have worked. The reason it did not was that there simply was not enough goodwill around."

Whatever the causes, the tragic fact is that the match was broken: the glove is off and the ring has been slipped from the hand. The split further disturbed the already unsettled waters in the Pacific community. It came at a time when strength and unity are needed most to stave off Communist aggression in southeast Asia and Indonesia's militant and mistaken policy of confrontation.

But, let us take heart that the split has not proved as devastating as it might have. It was only a matter of hours before the two former partners exchanged ambassadors and proclaimed their continued friendship. Moreover, Singapore quickly indicated that it was not going to turn its back on either Malaysia or the West. Indeed, the Economist reports that Singapore's new Foreign Minister, Mr. S. Rajaratnam:

Has already made it very clear that Singapore's foreign policy will be designed to keep it close to Malaysia—which is, indeed, essential if both states are to survive and prosper. He has promised that Singapore, like all good progressive, newly developing Afro-



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Asian states, will adopt a foreign policy of nonalignment "in the power struggle of the two ideological blocs." Knowing Mr. Rajaratnam, one can imagine how much restraint he must have exerted to hold himself back from speaking of three blocs. For, as director of the polibureau of the People's Action Party, he knows a great deal about the two rival Communist blocs and their interests in southeast Asia. Singapore will be friendly with all countries that recognize its integrity and independence and are friendly to Singapore. Indonesia may be able to qualify for a resumption of trade with Singapore on those grounds; but can Jakarta accept the other plank in Singapore's statement of foreign policy? This lays down that its foreign policy will "underpin the domestic attitude of preserving the state's integrity and independence while safeguarding the interests of Malaysia."

I note further that Mr. Rajaratnam just yesterday stated emphatically that Singapore would not join with Indonesia in a confrontation against Malaysia. He said that, "Political separation has not obliterated the fact that the people of both territories are one. Our destinies are inextricably intertwined and the crushing of one must inevitably mean the crushing of the other." Overall, the split has been made definitely but gently.

The potential for a good marriage, however, still exists for the old partners. Their economic interests remain complementary as before. We hope that they can resolve their political differences. If they can succeed in doing that, their real interests are certain to unite them once again. Perhaps, the union will take another form in the future. Indeed, perhaps the split will prove to be the needed catalyst for an even closer, more durable and more viable partnership. Again, I quote the Economist:

Togetherness may be much more feasible now that there is a political separation than it ever was while Chinese and Malay politicians struggle for power inside the so-called unity of Malaysia.

Providing that industrial and other rivalries are not carried to extremes, Malaysia and independent Singapore could work together harmoniously, and indeed must do so in respect of their interests in trade and security. Direct political rivalry no longer exists, so much of the cause of past trouble has been removed.

The Malaysian split dramatically reminds us that we are not the only Western power facing thorny problems of responsibility and security in southeast Asia. The British are there also, and with the split, as the Economist points out:

Britain's commitments seem likely to remain. While subscribing to a foreign policy of nonalignment, Singapore is fully convinced (and so is Kuala Lumpur) that President Sukarno would drop his paratroopers on the island less than an hour after the withdrawal of the last British soldier.

The interests of Britain and the United States in southeast Asia are mutual—to help independent nations stave off Communist aggression, to help southeast Asian nations help themselves to achieve a better life, to help each other achieve and maintain peace—but at this time, our areas of responsibility are clearly separate.

## Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965

SPEECH

OF

HON. GALE SCHISLER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 12, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (S. 1648) to provide grants for public works and development facilities, other financial assistance and the planning and coordination needed to alleviate conditions of substantial and persistent unemployment and underemployment in economically distressed areas and regions.

Mr. SCHISLER. Mr. Chairman, I would like to take note of the passage of Senate bill 1648, the Economic Development Act of 1965 which passed the House August 12.

The purpose of this legislation is to provide a comprehensive program of assistance to areas and regions of economic distress in order that unemployment can be arrested and facilities can be improved and upgraded. President Johnson, in his message of March 25, 1965, to the Congress said:

The promise of America is opportunity for all our people. It must, therefore, be a matter of concern to all Americans when any of our fellow citizens is denied the chance to build a full life for himself and his family.

This program goes a long way in fulfilling the promise of America. It is a program which combines the best features of the Area Redevelopment Act, the Public Works Acceleration Act, and the Appalachian Regional Development Act. It provides assistance for local communities, for economic development centers, for counties, for labor areas, for multicounty combinations called "development districts," and for multistate regions. This legislation makes assistance available at whatever level of economic development that assistance can be most effective.

The bill contains five major programs, each contained in a separate title.

Title I of the bill provides for grants of up to 80 percent for public works in eligible areas which are necessary for economic development or meet the objectives of the antipoverty program. Supplementary grants are available also, to communities where unemployment is exceptionally high and the requirements for local matching funds cannot be met.

Title II provides financial assistance for loans for public facilities, for commercial or industrial facilities, and for guarantees of working capital loans made in connection with businesses being established or expanded.

Title III provides the means by which communities and businessmen can find the answer to economic problems which are obstacles to economic growth. This title authorizes 75 percent of the funds to provide a full-time staff for State, dis-

trict, and selected local economic development organizations to undertake research on the problems of long-term employment.

Title IV provides for the designation of eligible areas on the basis of unemployment or heavy loss of population. In general, the standards for designation on the basis of unemployment are the same as those under the Area Redevelopment Act. This means that counties with a median family income of \$2,264 or less would qualify.

Title V of the bill provides for Federal participation in the organization of regional development commissions similar to the Appalachian Region Development Commission. This Commission will draw up a plan for economic action in the region and recommend appropriate action to State and Federal bodies.

The upgrading of community facilities is an integral part of this legislation, and two counties in our 19th District have had projects approved in this area. In Knox County the sewage system at Abingdon will see treatment and improvement. A sewage lagoon has been approved for Oneida and Yates City.

In Mercer County, Mathersville, New Boston, and Sherrard have had sewage facilities projects approved.

Mr. Speaker, this legislation is going to influence the lives of a great many people. Looking at it in terms of the national interest, it will replace hopelessness with hope for hundreds of thousands of families. Thousands of children will be able to continue their education where otherwise it might be interrupted. It will bring needed new payrolls for depressed communities and new jobs for the unemployed. I was pleased to be able to lend my support to this legislation, for I feel it will mean a real boost and a program of self-help for communities all over our country.

### Kindest President of All

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, one of the ablest Governors who ever served Florida and one of the most dedicated Democrats in Florida or in the country is former Gov. Fuller Warren of Florida, now a distinguished attorney in Miami and a resident, I am proud to say, of my congressional district.

Governor Warren on July 21, 1965, wrote a magnificent letter to the editor of the Miami Daily News, in eloquent tribute to President Johnson, captioned "Kindest President of All." I commend to my colleagues and to my countrymen who shall read this Record this moving tribute to our President by former Governor Warren:

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5. We should continue the all-out effort to lower the cost of desalting water. In the long run, the sea can be the easiest and cheapest source of our needs. But as long as the cost is so prohibitive and present plants so experimental, we must continue to bear the considerable expense of getting water from other sources.

The water shortage should also drive us to greater efforts in fighting pollution. I come from a State with 1,000 miles of polluted rivers and streams, 35 percent of the total. The Merrimac River, in northeast Massachusetts, is the oldest polluted river in the country—and one of the worst. We would have no water problem today, in most parts of my State and many parts of yours, if polluted rivers could be safely used. Nor would we have the strangulation of animal life, the denial of recreation opportunity, the odors and sights and dangers to health that pollution brings.

For those reasons, I would make these suggestions:

6. We should encourage creation of local sewerage districts, to bring under appropriate control those plants outside city limits that cause such pollution. Such districts should also be eligible for grants under the sewerage treatment program. Under the present program, only municipalities are eligible for funds. Under my suggestion, the program could reach industries not covered.

7. One of the greatest obstacles to the anti-pollution program is that many industries cannot afford the cost of control. Nor can we fairly blame a community which fails to force pollution control upon its plants, for fear they will leave the area. Faced with the choice, any community would prefer a polluted river to unemployed citizens. For this reason, we should give tax relief, and consider even direct grants to industrial plants to encourage them to dispose of their wastes, without polluting.

8. Another difficult obstacle to enforcement is the difference in pollution in standards between States. Rivers do not respect State boundaries. Yet communities downstream cannot clean up effectively, if communities upstream, in another State, do not have to treat their wastes to the same degree. It is essential, therefore, that there be uniform water quality standards between States. I hope this will be enacted by the Congress this year.

9. We must also find new methods of treating municipal sewage before it finds its way into our rivers and streams. In many of our cities, the storm and sanitation sewers are connected in such a way that in time of storms, untreated sewage is backed into our waters. Much pollution is caused by this fact. What is needed are new devices that can be installed, in our homes or in holding pens, to prevent this dangerous condition.

10. Finally, in furtherance of all these programs, I think the present Federal law should be changed to eliminate the provision which limits the Government grants for water research to land-grant colleges. There are many private colleges, in all of our States, which could make an important contribution if they had this support.

The current water crisis is an opportunity, as well as a challenge. If meeting it can teach us the value of cooperation and planning, what we do will carry over to the development of all our resources. This is what you have been fighting for since 1937. It is where you can make a unique contribution. The people of our region, now aroused, are in back of your efforts. The time is ripe for substantive accomplishment on many fronts.

I know you will contribute, and continue your leadership, for this cause.

## Warden Lane of Michigan City, Ind.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. VANCE HARTKE

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, the proposed National Crime Commission has in its membership many distinguished persons from the fields of law, education, public administration, and others. It will no doubt do an excellent job in discharging its duties.

But, as a recent editorial in the Michigan City, Ind., News-Dispatch has noted, it does not have a practical penologist in its ranks. Michigan City is the site of a State prison. Its warden has won, by his remarkable achievements, the highest regard not only of the community but of the State. He is not a prophet without honor in his own country, but one who has won a deserved reputation for his success in dealing with convicted criminals.

The Michigan City editorial has suggested that Warden Lane would be a most excellent choice for the first vacancy which occurs on the Crime Commission. I agree.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial "Glaring Omission" may appear in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Michigan City (Ind.) News-Dispatch, Aug. 2, 1965]

## GLARING OMISSION

The stated goal of President Johnson's proposed National Crime Commission certainly is good and desirable—a "systematic, nationwide study . . . of crime problems, ranging from its causes at one extreme to arrest and rehabilitation at the other."

Too, those L.B.J. appointed to the Commission are eminently distinguished and highly qualified.

But there was one glaring omission that ought to be rectified. The Commission has judges, prosecutors and lawyers galore. It also includes a police chief, the mayor of New York, a university president, a publisher, and the presidents of the League of Women Voters and National Urban League.

But nowhere does one find a leading penologist. If rehabilitation is to be part of its concern, the Commission ought to have at least one member who is intimately familiar with prisons and their inmates.

Sad to say, this omission isn't surprising. It reflects an unfortunate public attitude that tends to equate prisons solely with punishment and to consider convicts incorrigibly beyond redemption.

Largely because of this attitude, the Nation's penal systems need penetrating study and reappraisal as much as any other segment of the crime problem—probably more.

Indiana offers both bad and good examples. Most of the State's correctional institutions are in sorry shape, the result of inadequate appropriations, politics, and public apathy.

The one notable exception is the State prison at Michigan City. From a physical standpoint, the penitentiary is ancient, run-

down, overcrowded, and understaffed. But despite great difficulties born of public apathy and penury, Warden Ward Lane is quietly working small miracles of rehabilitation.

Given only nickels and dimes by taxpayers, Lane's approach is necessarily bold and risky. But is also eminently sensible. One way or another, he encourages inmates to find their own way out of ignorance and dark despair.

Significantly, Lane's self-help programs are working far better than most Hoosiers realize—and in many cases more effectively than the antipoverty war's richly financed rehabilitation projects.

Essentially, Lane's approach succeeds because it is built upon an intimate, practical understanding of prisons and prisoners acquired through years of up-from-the-ranks experience. Hence, he can go beyond the narrow limits imposed by mere book knowledge or sociological theory.

Someone like Warden Lane ought to be named to the President's new crime commission when the first vacancy occurs. Men who have strayed as far from society as prison are not easily rehabilitated. They constitute a challenge that cries for the knowledge, wisdom, and understanding of someone who has devoted a lifetime to prison work.

*Fe O. Rhodes*  
A Paratrooper in Vietnam Pens Letter to Students

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, the recent student demonstrations for peace—at any price—in Vietnam must be puzzling and disheartening to our men who are fighting there. It is too bad the demonstrators do not have the knowledge of the ways of Communist aggression, as is expressed by a young paratrooper who is presently fighting the battle against Communist suppression of Vietnam.

Pfc. Jerry P. Linsner, through his letter to the editor of the Arizona Republic released on July 15, 1965, makes an eloquent and well-considered appeal to these students for their support of those who are willingly fighting and dying for the preservation of world freedom. Under leave previously granted, I include in the RECORD the following letter from Pfc. Jerry P. Linsner, of Phoenix, Ariz.:

## A PARATROOPER IN VIETNAM PENS LETTER TO STUDENTS

To the Editor:

I am a 22-year-old paratrooper now serving with the 173d Airborne Brigade (separate). My home address is 2412 North 37th Way, in Phoenix. I am writing this letter from the perimeter defense position around Bien Hoa Airbase, South Vietnam, and its questioning aspects are directed at a select few who are helping to fight this war on the homefront.

I must say though, that I am a little confused as to which side is being supported, and whose cause upheld by some of our

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young and upcoming "Intellectual soldiers" whose bases of operations are located at several of our institutions of higher learning.

One of our most precious possessions is the freedom to challenge the policies of our Government, and keep those policies within the limits of our society's national feelings. This freedom was borne to us from our Nation's birth through the careful actions and watchful minds of dedicated leaders and protected by the blood of thousands.

It now seems evident that this freedom can be, and is being, undermined and abused in an ignorant display of rash actions, which do nothing but confuse the public and place a doubt in the minds of countries on the verge of communism as to the soundness of America's promise to defend them against Communist aggression.

The un-American aspects of these demonstrations, which are carried out by those who might occupy positions of leadership and responsibility in the near future, carry the traits of a possible dupe by an outside force.

You would think that the countless broken Communist treaties, lies, and anti-American attacks, and the stark nakedness of public Communist announcements, which state openly and coldly their intentions to crush us, would awaken minds and open eyes.

From the Lao Dong Party in Hanoi, the Communist cry that the fighting in the South is a matter for the South Vietnamese, has been heard all over the world. Seized Vietcong caches of Communist-supplied arms and ammunition, the extremely elaborate military and political machine aimed at conquering South Vietnam, and the high proportion of Northern-trained officers, enlisted men, specialists, and secret agents, reveal the Communist line to be a giant mockery. It is a useless attempt to hide the fact that Hanoi is behind the continuing campaign of aggression aimed at conquering South Vietnam. There exists in South Vietnam a large scale, carefully directed, and Communist-supported program of armed attack on a sovereign state and a free people.

Obviously, some students are so entangled in their efforts to reform our international policies that they fail to see the danger. Assured by social and intellectual freedoms, they strike out viciously and defiantly at our National Government. Not only do they lack diplomacy, they infringe upon the rights and freedoms of other citizens, and either do not care or have no conception of the ill-effects our Nation suffers in the world spotlight.

I only hope that when the demonstrations finally terminate, these students will add to their store of knowledge a recognition of the truth along with a valuable bit of experience.

Students should use their freedoms, take advantage of their rights, pry, disapprove, and question our Government's actions and make them conform to the will of the people. But before they pass judgment, they should take another look at our country's foundations, what we have fought and died for in the past, and what we stand for today. They should open their eyes and see who is trying to take this away from us.

I have watched America's youth swelter on the decks and in the holds of troopships and LST's. I have watched them rise from muddy pup tents, to construct through long, laborious days as clean and healthy a place to live as is possible in this environment. I've watched their bodies burn and tan under a merciless sun as they dug bunkers and mortar shelters. And at night they keep a vigilant watch in these same positions.

They have dropped in convulsions from the heat, and died from Communist steel. They are fighting a dirty and nasty war, and they board helicopters willingly to hunt out an elusive enemy in their own territory.

There is one thing I haven't the slightest doubt about, Mr. Student, and that is these

men's determination to stop communism here, on their own back doorstep. They know the score and this realization shows in their mental and physical willingness to fight.

However, when I turn my eyes homeward, I see something ugly, and I don't like it. Where is the moral support enjoyed by other men in wars past won? Where is determination to stop communism? Don't sell us down the river, Mr. Student, you might regret it.

Pfc. JERRY P. LINSNER,  
APO, San Francisco, Calif.

### Civil Rights: A New Jersey Conservative Point of View

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, on July 29, 1965, the *Irvington Herald*, Irvington, N.J., carried a thought-provoking article written by Howard E. Berkeley. Although written before the Los Angeles insurrection, it is almost prophetic. Mr. Berkeley's comments are worthy of consideration by the House; therefore, I commend them to the attention of my colleagues:

CIVIL RIGHTS: ANOTHER POINT OF VIEW

(By Howard E. Berkeley)

I'd like to thank the *Irvington Herald* for permitting me to write an article presenting a conservative view on the civil rights issue.

Too often we in this area have received only one point of view—the liberal one of compulsory togetherness. Anyone who dared disagree was immediately branded a bigot, the so-called modern liberal using the term "bigot" in the same way the medieval inquisitor used the term "heretic."

The liberal solution of America's racial problem is based on the assumption that once all the divergent elements are forced together, love and brotherhood will follow. In the light of reality this assumption is totally fallacious. The forcing of dissimilar people together in disregard of their desires merely aggravates the existing problem. People tend to associate with those who have common interests and backgrounds.

Of course, in a truly democratic society it should not be the purpose of the State to say with whom you should or should not associate. If an individual wanted to associate only with blue-eyed Catholics this might be foolish, but freedom is choice, no more no less.

Our American Republic was founded on the belief that the individual making his own decisions subject to a minimum of laws will accomplish more for society than some faceless robot figure controlled by an all-knowing state.

Today's mis-called liberals—CORE, SNCC, ADA, and the rest of them—are merely the ideological successors to every totalitarian philosophy from the Pharaohs to the Commissars.

Their attitude on the racial question is simply that we know what's best for you. Therefore, we will tell you whom to serve, hire, fire, rent to, live with, associate with, and we will, if we deem it necessary, ship your children about like so many head of sheep or cattle—all in the name of democracy, of course. This group, perhaps to hide

an inferiority complex publicly regards itself as a collection of demigods that we poor mortals must obey.

Of course, self-righteous hysterics boiling with zeal to free the Negro, are nothing new in American history. It was a handful of radical agitators who with their lies, half-truths, distortions and horror stories injected so much poison into the American body politic that a tragic Civil War resulted.

It was these New England and New York fanatics, including a number of clergy, that sent rifles into Kansas, rifles to maim and kill and sent them in boxes labeled "Bibles." Later the same abolitionist extremists sent the murderer and psychopath John Brown, of bloody Kansas fame, to Harper's Ferry. An expedition, whose avowed purpose was to free the slaves, but whose first victim was a free Negro.

With the Civil War over, the South had to be "reconstructed." So the fanatics went South to rule in what historians have described as the tragic decade.

Supported by Federal bayonets, the radicals misruled and looted the Southern States. Finally the reconstruction collapsed of its own evil weight. The humanitarians left and the southerners both black and white, were of course left to clean up the mess and pay the bills.

Today's civil rights agitators are of many stripes, some are simply misguided dogooders, other are just out for kicks—they have graduated from panty raids; still others plain radicals and of course those lost souls—the beatniks.

The cynical politician whose sole interest in the Negro is his vote, stands behind much of the trouble. The politician sees this entire agitation as a wonderful opportunity to extend his own power and profits at the expense of the people's rights and to hide his tyranny under the guise of democracy and brotherhood.

What we in the North are beginning to find out is that the civil rights movement, with its program of planned chaos and dictatorship, is not to be restricted to the South, for the mobs are marching in Chicago, Newark, and Philadelphia, as well as in Selma, Jackson, and Birmingham.

The American people, through their apathy, have sown the dragon's teeth and now the Nation will reap the crop of iron men.

### Home Rule: An American Idea

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the residents of the District of Columbia have indicated their support for home rule in a variety of ways in the last 15 years.

Recently, WWDC radio ran an editorial which stated in part:

Local self-government is neither a Democratic nor a Republican idea. It's an American idea. As such, it belongs in the Capital City of the American people.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the full text of the July 23 WWDC editorial:

PROGRESS ON HOME RULE

Broadcast of this editorial by WWDC President Ben Strouse began July 23, 1965. We welcome comments.